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THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SITUATION IN RWANDA

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THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SITUATION IN RWANDA

BACKGROUND

Fighting between the Armed Forces of the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) first broke out in October 1990 across the border between Rwanda and its northern neighbour, Uganda. Despite a number of cease-fire agreements thereafter, hostilities resumed in the northern part of the country in early February 1993. These interrupted comprehensive negotiations between the Government of Rwanda and RPF, which were supported by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and facilitated by the United Republic of Tanzania.

In support of resumption of the negotiations, Rwanda and Uganda, in separate letters to the President of the Security Council on 22 February 1993, called for the deployment of United Nations military observers along the 150-kilometre common border in order to prevent the military use of the area, especially the transportation of military supplies. RPF control of the border area had been extensive.

Following consultations of the Security Council on 24 February concerning these letters, United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali decided to send a goodwill mission to Rwanda and Uganda. He instructed the mission to examine all major aspects of the peace process including the possibility of deploying military observers along the border. The goodwill mission carried out this mandate from 4 to 18 March 1993.

Meanwhile, efforts by OAU and Tanzania led to a meeting between the Government of Rwanda and RPF from 5 to 7 March at Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of Tanzania. In a closing joint communiqué, the Government of Rwanda and RPF pledged their commitment to a negotiated settlement and agreed to reinstate the cease-fire on 9 March and to the resumption of peace talks in Arusha, Tanzania. They also committed themselves to providing adequate security and protection to displaced persons.

On 12 March 1993, the Security Council, by its resolution 812 (1993), called on the Government of Rwanda and RPF to respect the renewed cease-fire, to resume negotiations, to allow the delivery of humanitarian supplies and the return of displaced persons, and to fulfil the obligations and commitments the parties had made in the past. The Council also welcomed the goodwill mission the Secretary-General had sent to Rwanda and Uganda. Finally, it asked him to examine the requests of those two countries for the deployment of observers along their common border.

The Secretary-General dispatched a technical mission to the border area between Rwanda and Uganda which visited Uganda from 2 to 5 April and Rwanda on 6 April. It reported that it would be possible to deploy United Nations military observers to monitor the border between Uganda and Rwanda and verify that no military assistance — lethal weapons, ammunition and other material of possible military use — was being provided across it. It was decided that deployment of the observers would be on the Ugandan side of the border only.

SECURITY COUNCIL AUTHORIZES UNOMUR

On 22 June 1993, the Security Council, by its resolution 846 (1993), authorized the establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) on the Uganda side of the common border, for an initial period of six months, subject to review every six months. The Council decided that the verification would focus primarily on transit or transport, by roads or tracks which could accommodate vehicles, of lethal weapons and ammunition across the border, as well as any other material which could be of military use.

The Council welcomed the Secretary-General's decision to support the peace-keeping efforts of OAU by putting two military experts at its disposal to help expedite the deployment of OAU's expanded Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG) [1/] to Rwanda. It also urged the Government of Rwanda and RPF to conclude quickly a comprehensive peace agreement, and requested the Secretary-General to report on the contribution the United Nations could make to assist OAU in implementing this agreement and to begin contingency planning in the event that the Council decided that such a contribution was needed. As requested by resolution 846 (1993), the United Nations undertook consultations with the Government of Uganda with a view to concluding a status of mission agreement for UNOMUR. The agreement was finalized and entered into force on 16 August 1993. This opened the way to deployment of an advance party which arrived in the mission area on 18 August. By the end of September, UNOMUR had reached its authorized strength of 81 military observers and was fully operational.

ARUSHA PEACE TALKS

Meanwhile, the Arusha talks on a comprehensive peace agreement between the Government of Rwanda and RPF had reconvened on 16 March 1993. The United Nations Secretary-General was represented by Mr. Macaire Pédanou, head of the United Nations goodwill mission that visited Rwanda earlier that month.

The talks covered military issues, refugees and displaced persons, and outstanding political matters, including the amendment of the constitution, as well as the duration of the transitional period. Early in the talks, the parties also began to discuss an international neutral force to oversee the implementation of key aspects of the peace agreement and to create confidence during the transition period.

The talks in Arusha were successfully concluded on 4 August 1993 with the signing of a comprehensive peace agreement, which called for a democratically elected government and provided for the establishment of a broad-based transitional Government until the elections, in addition to repatriation of refugees and integration of the armed forces of the two sides. The two parties called for a neutral international force to help implement the agreement.

In a joint request to the Security Council from Arusha on 11 June, the two parties had called on the United Nations to send a reconnaissance mission to Rwanda. This mission would prepare for the quick deployment of a neutral international force as soon as the peace agreement under negotiation was signed. The request welcomed the OAU suggestion that the United Nations should assume responsibility for and command of such a force. The parties asked that the force should assist in the maintenance of public security and in the delivery of humanitarian aid. It would also assist in searches for weapons caches, neutralization of armed bands, demining, disarmament of civilians and the cessation of hostilities. The parties also requested that the international force oversee the demobilization of existing armed forces and of all aspects of the formation of the new National Army and National Gendarmerie.

UNAMIR RECOMMENDED

A United Nations reconnaissance mission visited Rwanda from 19 to 31 August 1993. Its senior officials also visited Dar-es-Salaam on 1 and 2 September and Addis Ababa on 3 September for consultations with the Government of Tanzania and the Secretary-General of OAU respectively.

On the basis of the mission's findings, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council, on 24 September, a report, in which he recommended the establishment of a United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), with the mandate of "contributing to the establishment and maintenance of a climate conducive to the secure installation and subsequent operation of the transitional Government".

According to the Secretary-General, the principal functions of UNAMIR would be to assist in ensuring the security of the capital city of Kigali; monitor the cease-fire agreement, including establishment of an expanded demilitarized zone (DMZ) and demobilization procedures; monitor the security situation during the final period of the transitional Government's mandate leading up to elections; and assist with mine-clearance. The Mission would also investigate alleged non-compliance with any provisions of the peace agreement and provide security for the repatriation of Rwandese refugees and displaced persons. In addition, it would assist in the coordination of humanitarian assistance activities in conjunction with relief operations.

The Secretary-General proposed that the military observers of UNOMUR come under the command of the new Mission, while maintaining their separate monitoring tasks on the Uganda-Rwanda border. The Mission would also incorporate elements of NMOG II which was mandated by OAU to supervise the cease-fire until 31 October 1993.

SECRETARY-GENERAL OUTLINES MANDATE

The Secretary-General recommended that the operation be conducted in four phases.

The first phase would begin on the day the Security Council established UNAMIR and would end on D-Day, the day on which the transitional Government was installed. It was estimated that the transitional Government might not be installed until the end of 1993. The objective of the Mission would be to establish conditions for the secure installation of such a Government. By the end of that phase, the strength of UNAMIR would total 1,428 military personnel.

During phase two, expected to last 90 days or until the process of disengagement, demobilization and integration of the Armed Forces and Gendarmerie began, the build-up of the Mission would continue to a total of 2,548 military personnel. During this phase, UNAMIR would continue to monitor the DMZ, to assist in providing security in Kigali and in the demarcation of the assembly zones, and to ensure that all preparations for disengagement, demobilization and integration were in place.

During phase three, which would last about 9 months, the Mission would establish, supervise and monitor a new DMZ. Security would also continue to be provided in Kigali. The disengagement, demobilization and integration of the Forces and the Gendarmerie would be completed in this stage, and the Mission would reduce its staff to approximately 1,240 personnel.

Phase four, which would last about four months, would see a further reduction of the Mission's strength to the minimum level of approximately 930 military personnel. UNAMIR would assist in ensuring the secure atmosphere required in the final stages of the transitional period leading up to the elections.

In order to verify that law and order were maintained effectively and impartially, the Secretary-General proposed to deploy a small United Nations civilian police unit in Kigali and the nine prefecture capitals of Rwanda and in specific police installations.

UNAMIR ESTABLISHED

UNAMIR was established on 5 October by Security Council resolution 872 (1993) for an initial period of six months with the proviso that it would be extended beyond the initial 90 days only upon a review by the Council. In connection with this, the Secretary-General would report on any substantive progress made towards the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

The Council noted that UNAMIR's mandate would end following national elections and the installation of a new government in Rwanda, events which were scheduled to occur by October 1995, but no later than December 1995. In that context, the Council authorized the Secretary-General to deploy a first contingent to Kigali, which, when fully in place,

would permit the establishment of the transitional institutions and implementation of the other relevant provisions of the Peace Agreement.

By resolution 872 (1993), the Council also urged the parties to implement the Arusha Agreement in good faith and called upon Member States, United Nations specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations to provide and intensify their economic, financial and humanitarian assistance in favour of the Rwandese population and of the democratization process in Rwanda.

The Council welcomed the intention of the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative who would lead UNAMIR in the field and exercise authority over all its elements

UNOMUR ACTIVITIES

UNOMUR established its headquarters in Kabale, Uganda, about 20 kilometres north of the border with Rwanda. It also established observation posts at two major crossing sites and three secondary sites on the Ugandan side of the border. The mission monitored the border area through mobile patrols and enhanced its operational capability with airborne coverage.

The Secretary-General, in his 15 December 1993 report to the Security Council, noted that UNOMUR had been "a factor of stability in the area and that it was playing a useful role as a confidence-building mechanism". He therefore recommended to the Council that the mandate of the mission be extended for a period of six months.

The Security Council, by its resolution 891 (1993) adopted on 20 December 1993, extended UNOMUR's mandate by six months. The Council expressed its appreciation to the Government of Uganda for its cooperation and support for UNOMUR and also underlined the importance of a cooperative attitude on the part of the civilian and military authorities in the mission area.

UNAMIR DEPLOYED

The UNAMIR Force Commander, Brigadier-General Romeo A. Dallaire (Canada), arrived in Kigali on 22 October 1993, followed by an advance party of 21 military personnel on 27 October. On 1 November, as foreseen in the Secretary-General's report, NMOG II was integrated into UNAMIR. The demilitarized zone sector headquarters was established upon the arrival of the advance party and became operational on 1 November 1993 when the NMOG II elements were absorbed into UNAMIR.

The deployment of a UNAMIR battalion in Kigali that was composed of contingents from Belgium and Bangladesh was completed in the first part of December 1993. The Kigali weapons-secure area was established on 24 December.

The Secretary-General's Special Representative for Rwanda, Mr. Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, former Minister for External Relations of Cameroon, arrived in Kigali on 23 November 1993 and established his headquarters in the Rwandese capital.

At a meeting on 10 December 1993, initiated by the Special Representative, the Government and RPF issued a joint declaration reaffirming their commitment to the provisions of the Arusha Peace Agreement. They agreed to set up a broad-based transitional Government and the Transitional National Assembly before 31 December 1993.

In his 30 December 1993 report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General pointed out that most of the projected tasks of phase I of the implementation plan had been accomplished. He underlined that, despite signs of mutual intransigence, the parties had continued to show good will and cooperation in their contacts with each other and with the United Nations. The cease-fire was also respected.

The Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council agree that UNAMIR should continue to implement its mandate. In this regard, he intended to proceed with the implementation plan, including

the early deployment of the second battalion in the DMZ.

The Security Council, by its resolution 893 (1994) of 6 January 1994, endorsed these proposals. The Council strongly urged the parties to cooperate with UNAMIR in furthering the peace process, to comply fully with the Arusha Peace Agreement and, in particular, to establish a broad-based transitional Government at the earliest opportunity.

IMPLEMENTATION PLAN DELAYED

In accordance with the Arusha Peace Agreement, which provided that the incumbent head of State would remain in office until the elections, Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana was sworn in as President of Rwanda on 5 January 1994. However, expectations that the transitional Government and the Transitional National Assembly would also be installed on that same day could not be met because of the inability of the parties concerned to agree on several issues, including the lists of members of these bodies.

The failure to set up the transitional institutions not only delayed the completion of phase I of the implementation plan, but also contributed to a deterioration of the security situation in the country and posed a threat to the peace process. January and February 1994 saw increasingly violent demonstrations, roadblocks, assassination of political leaders and assaults on and murders of civilians.

Following an upsurge in violent incidents in late February, culminating in the assassination of two prominent political leaders and the ambush of a UNAMIR-escorted RPF convoy, the Government imposed a curfew in Kigali and in a number of other cities. Subsequently, the security situation began to stabilize, especially following the increased support provided to the National Gendarmerie by UNAMIR military and civilian police components.

In the course of January-March 1994, the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, supported by a number of Governments both within and outside the region, as well as the OAU Secretary-General and the observer States to the peace process, continued to promote agreement among the parties on the setting up of the transitional institutions. However, notwithstanding some progress in the negotiations, all attempts to install those institutions failed.

CEASE-FIRE HOLDS

On the positive side, despite the increased tensions and insecurity engendered by the political impasse, the cease-fire was generally holding. UNAMIR forces, whose operational capacity was enhanced with the deployment of additional personnel and equipment, continued to play a stabilizing role.

Although the persistent stalemate on the establishment of the transitional institutions delayed the start of phase II operations, UNAMIR forces earmarked for that phase were in place and ready to begin operations on short notice. In addition, preparations for phase III, which would involve the actual disengagement, demobilization and integration of the armed forces of the parties, had begun.

With the arrival of the UNAMIR Police Commissioner, Colonel Manfred Bliem (Austria), on 26 December 1993 and of the police units in January and February 1994, the UNAMIR civilian police contingent (CIVPOL) set up its headquarters in Kigali and reached its authorized strength of 60 civilian police monitors. In carrying out its mandate, which was to assist in maintaining public security through the monitoring and verification of the activities of the Gendarmerie and the Communal Police, CIVPOL worked closely with both bodies in Kigali.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE UP TO APRIL 1994

On 15 April 1993, the United Nations launched an inter-agency appeal for international assistance to Rwanda to cover the period from April to December 1993, amounting to $78 million to meet the needs

of over 900,000 war-displaced people, or approximately 13 per cent of the nation's population. The appeal was the result of a request by the President of Rwanda to the Secretary-General earlier in 1993, following a three-fold increase in the number of the displaced persons, whose emergency needs had overwhelmed local capacity to supply them.

Most of the displaced people were living in and around 30 camps where serious malnutrition and disease were prevalent. The situation was exacerbated by Rwanda's already precarious economic condition, overpopulation and rapidly declining agricultural production.

An inter-agency mission, led by the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs, had been fielded between 18 and 25 March 1993 to prepare a consolidated appeal with all concerned United Nations agencies. The appeal presented priority emergency relief projects focusing on food, nutrition, health, water and sanitation, shelter and household items and education. As of the end of November 1993, contributions in cash and in kind amounting to some $33 million had been made available to the United Nations agencies carrying out humanitarian activities in Rwanda.

With the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement, it was estimated that some 600,000 individuals had returned home, thus easing the emergency situation that had prevailed earlier in the year; as a result, the emphasis of the humanitarian assistance efforts had shifted to meeting the needs of the displaced returning home. At the same time, some 300,000 people who remained displaced continued to rely on emergency assistance in the camps.

In recommending the establishment of UNAMIR, the Secretary-General had stated that humanitarian assistance to displaced persons and refugees, as well as to demobilized soldiers, would have to be coordinated with the Mission's activities. Mine-clearance had been earmarked as a priority to ease the threat to displaced persons and to humanitarian agencies seeking to deliver assistance.

EXTENSION OF UNAMIR MANDATE

The Secretary-General again reported to the Security Council on the situation in Rwanda on 30 March 1994. He stated that continued international support for UNAMIR would depend upon the full and prompt implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement by the parties concerned and urged them to make a determined effort to reach agreement on the establishment of the broad-based transitional Government and the Transitional National Assembly.

The Secretary-General was encouraged by the fact that, in spite of increasing tensions, the parties had maintained the process of dialogue. He believed that UNAMIR should continue to support the dialogue to resolve the remaining differences in order to complete phase I of the implementation plan and to facilitate phase II operations. Therefore, the Secretary-General recommended that the Council extend the mandate of UNAMIR for a period of six months, during which time he would keep the Council informed of the pace of progress in the implementation of the Arusha peace agreement. However, in the event that the transitional institutions were not installed within the following two months and if sufficient progress in the implementation of the next phase of the agreement had not also been achieved, the Council should then review the situation, including the role of the United Nations.

On April 5, 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 909 (1994), expressed its "deep concern at the delay in the establishment of the broad-based transitional Government and the Transitional National Assembly" and, stating that it was "concerned at the deterioration in security in the country, particularly in Kigali," decided to extend the mandate of UNAMIR until 29 July 1994. It noted that it would review the situation within the next six weeks if the Secretary-General informed it that the transitional institutions provided for under the Arusha Peace Agreement had not been established and that insufficient progress had been made for implementation of phase II of UNAMIR's activities.

RENEWED FIGHTING IN RWANDA

On 6 April 1994, a plane carrying President Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and President Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi crashed at Kigali airport, killing all those on board. The cause for the crash could not be determined without a full investigation, which has not taken place.

Following the deaths of the two Presidents, widespread killings having apparently both ethnic and political dimensions began in Kigali and also in other parts of the country. A civil war broke out after the air crash which led to country-wide massacres of the Hutu opposition and intelligentsia, as well as members of the Tutsi minority and other RPF supporters.

Within two weeks, the deaths were considered to number tens of thousands. According to reports at the time, the killings were started by unruly members of the Presidential Guard, and then spread quickly throughout the city. RPF units subsequently became involved in the fighting. After the provisional Government disintegrated, an interim Government was proclaimed on 8 April 1994, but it left the capital on 12 April 1994 as fighting between the armed forces and RPF intensified and established itself in Gitarama, 40 kilometres south-west of Kigali.

Victims in the violence included Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana and 10 Belgian members of UNAMIR. The Secretary-General condemned the acts of violence and attacks on the members of UNAMIR in the strongest terms.

Following the murder of the Belgian soldiers and threats to Belgian nationals, the Government of Belgium decided to withdraw its battalion from UNAMIR. UNAMIR found it impossible to carry on with its original mandate, and instead concentrated on: securing an agreement on a cease-fire to be followed by political negotiations; protecting civilians in all possible ways; negotiating a truce with the two parties to permit the evacuation of expatriates; assisting in evacuations; rescuing those trapped in the fighting; and providing humanitarian assistance to large groups of displaced persons under UNAMIR protection.

NEW MEASURES

On 14 April, the Secretary-General discussed with the Security Council possible ways of dealing with the situation.

Despite direct contacts between the two sides under the auspices of UNAMIR on 15 April, both adopted rigid positions, undermining negotiations for a cease-fire. Violence continued in the streets, as did fighting between Rwandese Government Forces (RGF) and RPF forces. UNAMIR headquarters was hit on 19 April, although there were no casualties.

On 20 April 1994, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that UNAMIR personnel "cannot be left at risk indefinitely when there is no possibility of their performing the tasks for which they were dispatched."

The military personnel in UNAMIR stood at 1,515 on that date, down from 2,165, while military observers numbered 190, down from 321.

The Secretary-General proffered three alternatives to the Security Council.

Assuming there was no realistic prospect of the two sides agreeing on an effective cease-fire in the immediate future, combat and massacres could only be averted by an immediate and massive reinforcement of UNAMIR and a change in its mandate to allow it to coerce opposing forces into a cease-fire. This would require several thousand additional troops and could require that UNAMIR be given enforcement powers under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Alternatively, a small group, headed by the Force Commander, would remain in Kigali to act as an intermediary between the two parties in an attempt to bring them to an agreement on a cease-fire. This effort could be maintained for a period of up to two weeks

or longer, should the Council so prefer. The total military personnel would number about 270. But a full relief effort would be impossible without a cease-fire under this arrangement, the Secretary-General pointed out.

Finally, the Secretary-General noted that UNAMIR could be completely withdrawn, although he did not favour this alternative. The cost of withdrawal in human lives could be very severe, the Secretary-General cautioned.

In presenting the alternatives, the Secretary-General emphasized that the Government of Rwanda, or its successor, and the RPF bore responsibility for seeking peace. He also expressed sympathy for bereaved Rwandese families, offered condolences to the Government of Belgium and the families of the Belgian peace-keepers who were killed, and recorded his high commendation to the personnel of UNAMIR, his Special Representative and the Force Commander for their work.

On 21 April 1994, the Security Council decided in its resolution 912 (1994) to reduce UNAMIR to the numbers recommended by the Secretary-General in his second alternative. It also adjusted the mandate of UNAMIR so that it would act as an intermediary between the parties in an attempt to secure their agreement to a cease-fire; assist in the resumption of humanitarian relief operations to the extent feasible; and monitor developments in Rwanda, including the safety and security of civilians who sought refuge with UNAMIR. In the resolution, the Security Council also stressed that the Arusha Peace Agreement remained central to the peace process in Rwanda, strongly condemned the attacks against UNAMIR and other United Nations personnel, and demanded an immediate cessation of hostilities between the forces of the Government of Rwanda and RPF.

The Secretary-General's Special Representative participated in the Arusha talks on 22-23 April where a cease-fire statement was presented. Although cease-fire negotiations could not take place, the meeting contributed to a unilateral declaration of a cease-fire by RPF.

HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES

Because of the deterioration in the security situation, the evacuation of humanitarian personnel was recommended on 9 April 1994, and humanitarian activities were temporarily suspended. However, the United Nations agencies participating in the United Nations Disaster Management Team in Rwanda recommenced their coordination efforts in Nairobi within days of the evacuation, under the aegis of the newly-created United Nations Rwanda Emergency Office (UNREO). Efforts at limited cross-border humanitarian assistance proved possible, primarily from Uganda but also from Burundi. The World Food Programme (WFP) was able to carry out limited food distribution from existing WFP stocks in southern Rwanda.

As fighting continued in and around Kigali, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs Peter Hansen led an inter-agency Advance Humanitarian Team (AHT) into the city on 23 April 1994. Composed of members of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, the United Nations Development Programme, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Health Organization, the team assessed needs in the Kigali area and, in conjunction with United Nations and other humanitarian agencies operating out of Uganda, in most RPF controlled areas as well. Aid efforts in Kigali, such as the provision of UNICEF medical and health kits and high nutrition biscuits, were immediately initiated by the AHT in close collaboration with UNAMIR. Efforts by members of the humanitarian team to obtain access to WFP food stocks held in warehouses in Kigali, however, were repeatedly blocked by hostile fire.

Within a week of the humanitarian team's mission, a sub-office of UNREO was set up in Kabale,

Uganda. Staffed with personnel seconded by UNHCR and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the Kabale office helped coordinate cross border relief efforts into Rwanda. Uganda-based efforts to provide humanitarian aid in RPF-controlled areas expanded rapidly as security conditions allowed. These coordinated efforts included a number of international NGOs and were coordinated closely with the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Access to most of the needy population in RGF-controlled areas, where the number of internally displaced people was estimated to be as many as a million, continued to prove virtually impossible due to severe security problems. United Nations agencies based in Burundi, especially UNHCR, UNICEF and WFP, continued efforts to obtain first-hand information on needs in these areas, and to provide aid whenever the security situation allowed. On 25 April, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs launched a "flash appeal" on behalf of United Nations agencies for immediate emergency operations and contingency actions related to Rwanda. This appeal, for $8 million, received a mixed response from donors.

Soon after the launch of the "flash appeal", the humanitarian situation changed dramatically. In the most rapid exodus of this scale UNHCR had ever recorded, more than 250,000 Rwandese refugees poured across the Rusumo Falls border crossing point into Tanzania within 24 hours. Although UNHCR had pre-positioned food, blankets, and other relief supplies for 50,000 persons, the continued exodus along this border forced the creation of a massive relief operation. The international relief community, with overall coordination by UNHCR, rushed to help the Tanzanian Government and local residents cope with the massive influx of refugees. UNHCR made an urgent appeal to donors for an additional $56 million to meet the needs of refugees in the region, and particularly those crossing into Tanzania.

SECRETARY-GENERAL SEEKS FURTHER ACTION

On 29 April 1994, the Secretary-General wrote to the Security Council that the situation had further deteriorated in Kigali and other parts of Rwanda. The capital city was effectively divided into sectors controlled by RGF and RPF, the Secretary-General wrote, with frequent exchanges of artillery and mortar fire between the two sides. UNAMIR reported strong evidence of preparations for further massacres of civilians in the city, while massacres continued on a large scale in the countryside, especially in the south.

The developments raised serious questions about the viability of the revised mandate which the Security Council gave to UNAMIR on 21 April. It had become clear that UNAMIR did not have the power to take effective action to halt the continuing massacres, and would be unable to protect threatened people in Kigali if a new wave of massacres were to start. According to some estimates, as many as 200,000 people had died over the previous three weeks.

While some of the massacres had been the work of uncontrolled military personnel, most of them had been perpetrated by armed groups of civilians taking advantage of the complete breakdown of law and order in Kigali and many other parts of Rwanda, the Secretary-General continued, and they could be prevented only if law and order were restored. The Secretary-General urged the Security Council to consider again what action, including forceful action, it could take or could authorize Member States to take, in order to end the massacres.

Although such action would require a commitment of human and material resources on a scale which Member States had so far proved reluctant to contemplate, the Secretary-General said the scale of human suffering and its implications for the stability of neighboring countries left the Security Council with no alternative but to examine this possibility.

The Secretary-General continued to provide daily briefings to the Security Council, including details on Rwanda's security situation. This had rapidly deteriorated, with large-scale massacres taking place.

On 30 April 1994, the President of the Security Council issued a statement demanding that the interim Government of Rwanda and RPF take effective measures to prevent any attacks on civilians in areas under their control. It called on the leadership of both parties to condemn publicly such attacks and to commit themselves to ensuring that persons who instigate or participate in such acts are individually responsible, noting that the killing of members of an ethnic group with the intention of destroying such a group in whole or in part constitutes a crime punishable under international law.

The Security Council also called on all States to assist UNHCR and other humanitarian and relief agencies operating in the area in meeting the urgent humanitarian needs in Rwanda and its bordering States, and asked bordering States, working with OAU, to provide appropriate protection to refugees and to facilitate transfer of goods and supplies to meet the needs of the displaced persons within Rwanda.

It appealed to all States to refrain from providing arms or any military assistance to the parties to the conflict, and stated its willingness in principle to consider promptly the application of an arms embargo to Rwanda.

Along with other requests, the Council asked the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Secretary-General of OAU, to report further on how to help restore law and order in Rwanda and provide security for displaced persons and to explore urgently ways of extending humanitarian relief assistance to refugees and displaced persons.

Among other measures in response to the Security Council's statement, the Secretary-General wrote to a number of African countries and to the Secretary-General of OAU to explore ways through which such countries could contribute troops to help resolve the tragic situation in Rwanda.

On 3 May 1994, the Secretary-General sent a letter to the President of the Security Council in which he informed him of the action he had taken with respect to communications sent to African leaders, and also mentioned that he had personally spoken with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, Chairman in Office of OAU, about the problems in Rwanda, in addition to discussing the matter with the OAU Secretary-General.

In a subsequent letter, dated 6 May 1994, the President of the Security Council asked the Secretary-General to prepare contingency plans to deliver humanitarian assistance and support of displaced persons in Rwanda, and indicated that the Council might later seek indications on logistics and financial implications of an expanded United Nations or international presence in Rwanda.

UNAMIR EXPANDED

The Secretary-General reported on 13 May 1994 to the Security Council that UNAMIR had been reduced to 444 all ranks in Rwanda, with 179 military observers at Nairobi pending repatriation or redeployment to the Mission. He also stated that the situation in Rwanda remained "highly unstable and insecure, with widespread violence." A "major humanitarian crisis" had developed, with nearly 2 million people having been displaced.

He noted that in collaboration with other United Nations organizations, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs had established UNREO to coordinate humanitarian relief activities. Medical and nutritional supplies from UNICEF had been distributed in parts of Kigali where access was possible, he noted, while WFP had been able to deliver more than 500 tons of food in the north and 840 tons of food in the south.

UNAMIR, UNREO, the operational United Nations agencies and NGOs working in Rwanda agreed on a division of labour for humanitarian

assistance and on a set of principles to serve as the basis for humanitarian operations in Rwanda. These included ensuring the security of relief efforts; joint identification of distribution sites by responsible authorities and United Nations humanitarian organizations; clear identification of interlocutors to represent the authorities for discussion of humanitarian operations; acceptance by authorities of the monitoring and reporting responsibilities of the United Nations organizations regarding the distribution and use of relief materials; and an understanding that aid should be provided based on need, regardless of race, ethnic group, religion or political affiliation. Both sides subsequently agreed on the principles.

The Secretary-General recommended to the Security Council that it provide a new mandate to create UNAMIR II, which would include 5,500 troops. UNAMIR II would, *inter alia*, support and provide safe conditions for displaced persons and other groups in Rwanda and would help with the provision of assistance by humanitarian organizations. The force would work on behalf of displaced persons in the interior of the country, as well as on the border.

Displaced persons in the interior of the country outnumbered those in border areas or in neighbouring countries by a factor of five, the Secretary-General pointed out. In addition, if humanitarian efforts were concentrated on border areas, the protected sites could act as a magnet to people in need in the interior of the country and increase the number of displaced persons.

UNAMIR II would also monitor border crossing points and the two parties' deployment. While its rules of engagement would not envisage enforcement action, it could be required to take action in self-defence against those who threatened protected sites and populations and the means of delivery and distribution of humanitarian relief.

Deployment of UNAMIR II would be conducted in three phases over a one-month period. During the first phase, which would last for one week following the adoption of the enabling resolution by the Security Council, one full-strength battalion would ensure the protection of Kigali International Airport and other sites in the city where thousands had sought refuge. In the second phase, extending for two weeks after the adoption of the resolution, two more battalions would be deployed, along with advance elements of a support battalion and all of the force headquarters and signal squadron. The rest of the support battalion and two other infantry battalions would be deployed during the third phase, to be completed one month after adoption of the enabling resolution. The Secretary-General estimated that deployment of approximately 5,500 troops for a six-month period would cost about $115 million.

On 17 May 1994, the Security Council in resolution 918 (1994) demanded that all parties to the conflict immediately cease hostilities and agree to a cease-fire. It expanded UNAMIR's mandate to enable it to contribute to the security and protection of refugees and civilians at risk, through means including the establishment and maintenance of secure humanitarian areas, and the provision of security for relief operations to the degree possible.

It authorized the expansion of UNAMIR to 5,500 troops, and requested the Secretary-General to redeploy immediately, as a first phase, the UNAMIR military observers from Nairobi to Rwanda, and to bring up to full strength the infantry battalion currently in the country. The Secretary-General was asked to report as soon as possible on the next phase of UNAMIR's deployment, including updates on cooperation of the parties, progress toward a cease-fire, availability of resources and the proposed duration of the mandate for further review.

At the same time, the Council imposed an arms embargo on the country. It also asked the Secretary-General to present a report as soon as possible on the investigation of serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda during the conflict and invited the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, in coordination with OAU and countries in the region, to continue their efforts to

achieve a political settlement in Rwanda within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

SPECIAL MISSION VISITS RWANDA

Shortly after the Security Council adopted its resolution, Mr. Iqbal Riza, Assistant Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations, and Maj.-Gen. J. Maurice Baril, Military Adviser to the Secretary-General, left on a special mission to Rwanda. The purposes of the mission were to move the warring parties towards a cease-fire, to ascertain from them their views on and intentions towards the implementation of resolution 918 (1994) and to review with UNAMIR the modalities of the operations outlined in the Secretary-General's report of 13 May 1994.

On 31 May 1994, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that the special mission was in the area from 22 to 27 May 1994, and met with officials from both sides, and with UNAMIR officials. Although both sides had given assurances that they would observe an informal truce during the visit, firing and shelling continued, especially in and around Kigali, causing the special mission to lose much time.

The special mission was informed that those responsible for the killings in Rwanda included members of the Rwandese government forces, but in the main were drawn from the Presidential Guard and the *interhamwe*, the youth militia recruited and formed by the late President's party. Allegations by representatives of the interim Government and the Rwandese Armed Forces and the Gendarmerie that the RPF bore equal culpability for the killings were not corroborated by other sources.

The mission also found that the RPF zone was virtually empty. In the zones controlled by the Rwandese government force, however, increasing numbers of displaced persons were fleeing the RPF advance and were seeking refuge in camps in subhuman conditions. This exodus was in part due to alarming radio broadcasts from Rwandese government forces zones, especially Radio Mille Collines, which also broadcast incitements to eliminate RPF supporters.

UNAMIR'S MANDATE EXTENDED

On 31 May 1994, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that the special mission was able to obtain the agreement of the two sides to initiate talks for the establishment of a cease-fire as called for by resolution 918 (1994). RPF's insistence that it would not deal, directly or indirectly, with the de facto authorities in Gitarama was accepted by the other side. A working paper, to serve as a basis for the talks, was prepared by the special mission and the Force Commander, and the first meeting was held between military staff officers on 30 May at UNAMIR headquarters with the Deputy Force Commander acting as intermediary.

During discussions with the mission, both sides had recognized that only a political settlement could bring stability to Rwanda and there could be no military solution. However, while both sides declared that the principles of the Arusha peace agreement remained valid as a framework, each stated that the new circumstances would necessitate renegotiation of certain parts of the agreement.

Since national reconciliation was unlikely to be swift, the Secretary-General recommended that UNAMIR's expanded mandate be authorized by the Council for at least six months, with the anticipation that at least another six-month renewal would be required. He also declared his intention to establish a special trust fund to support effective rehabilitation programmes in Rwanda.

As for deployment of the expanded UNAMIR, the special mission had secured assurances from both parties of cooperation with the mandate established by resolution 918 (1994), although these would later need formalization as operations were initiated. The implementation of phase 1 of the deployment remained urgent and had to be commenced even before a cease-fire was effected, the Secretary-Gen-

eral reported. He also stated that the Government of Ghana was prepared to dispatch troops immediately, but these were waiting for necessary equipment, especially armoured personnel carriers, to be made available by other Member States. It was estimated that phase 1 would not be operational for another four to six weeks, depending on how soon the resources required were made available by Member States and delivered on the ground. Considering the projected delays in deploying the troops and equipment for phase 1, the Secretary-General recommended that phase 2 should be initiated immediately, in close synchronization with phase 1, while urgent preparations for phase 3 should continue.

The repercussions of the convulsions in Rwanda were enormous, the Secretary-General said, with displaced persons in the range of 1.5 million and an additional 400,000 refugees in bordering countries. These figures would mean that over a quarter of Rwanda's population had been afflicted. Neither United Nations agencies nor non-governmental organizations had been able to begin an effective humanitarian assistance programme, beyond sporadic deliveries where possible, in zones controlled by Rwandese government forces, where authority beyond Gitarama, Gisenyi and Butare appeared to be uncertain. More systematic humanitarian assistance programmes had begun in the RPF zone, but worked under strict RPF controls. The special mission had emphasized to the de facto authorities in Gitarama and to the Rwandese government forces military commanders the urgency of assuring conditions that would allow humanitarian assistance programmes to begin areas controlled by them.

In his report, the Secretary-General noted that while the information on human rights violations obtained by the special mission carried *prima facie* credibility in the light of circumstantial evidence, only a proper investigation could establish the facts and definite culpability. The efficacy of such an exercise would diminish as time weakened evidence and dispersed living witnesses.

The international community's delayed reaction to the genocide in Rwanda "demonstrated graphically its extreme inadequacy to respond with prompt and decisive action to humanitarian crises entwined with armed conflict," the Secretary-General added. He also noted that while attempting to redeem the failings in the Rwandese crisis, the entire system required review to strengthen its reactive capacity.

There was little doubt that the killing in Rwanda constituted genocide, since there had been large-scale killings of communities and families belonging to a particular ethnic group, but the continuing hostilities impeded a full investigation into the massacres. The Secretary-General noted that the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mr. José Ayala Lasso, had visited Rwanda in early May, and the Commission on Human Rights had subsequently designated Mr. René Degni-Segui as Special Rapporteur for Rwanda.

In its resolution 925 on 8 June 1994, the Security Council endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendations for the deployment of an expanded UNAMIR, invited the international community to contribute generously to the trust fund for Rwanda, and demanded that all parties to the conflict cease hostilities.

Subsequently, in its resolution 935 of 1 July 1994, the Security Council, expressing its grave concern at reports of violations of international law, including genocide, requested that the Secretary-General establish as a matter of urgency an impartial Commission of Experts that would provide him with its conclusions about the evidence of these violations.

The Commission could obtain information through its own investigations or through the efforts of others, including the Special Rapporteur. The Council also called on States, relevant United Nations bodies and organizations to inform the commission within the next 30 days of substantiated grave violations.

UNOMUR'S TERMINATION AUTHORIZED

Initially, UNOMUR had restricted its monitoring activities in Uganda along the area of the border with Rwanda controlled by RPF. After RPF gained control of the entire Uganda-Rwanda border, the Mission extended its observation and monitoring activities to that area. This necessitated the readjustment of tasks and the reassignment of United Nations military observers.

UNOMUR carried out its tasks essentially through patrolling, monitoring and surveillance of the whole stretch of the operational area, involving both mobile and fixed observations as well as on-site investigations of suspected cross-border traffic. The arrival in the mission area of three helicopters in early April 1993 strengthened UNOMUR's overall operational capacity.

On 16 June 1994, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his second progress report on UNOMUR, in which he reiterated that UNOMUR had continued to be a factor of stability in the area and had been particularly critical in recent months as UNAMIR had sought to defuse tensions resulting from the resumption of hostilities.

Nevertheless, he noted that there appeared to be little rationale for monitoring one of Rwanda's borders and not the others. As UNOMUR's activities allowed UNAMIR to address, at least to some degree, the issue of outside interference in the Rwandese civil war, he believed that UNOMUR should continue its monitoring activities until an effective cease-fire was established. The Secretary-General therefore recommended that UNOMUR's mandate be renewed for a period of three months. During that period, the number of military observers would be reduced by phases, adjusting to operational requirements. UNOMUR would be closed down by 21 September 1994.

On 20 June 1994, the Security Council adopted resolution 928 (1994) endorsing the Secretary-General's recommendations and requesting him to report to the Council on the termination of UNOMUR before the completion of its mandate.

MULTINATIONAL OPERATION LAUNCHED

Meanwhile, on 19 June 1994, the Secretary-General, in a letter to the President of the Security Council, reiterated the need for an urgent and coordinated response by the international community to the genocide which had engulfed Rwanda. He enumerated the offers which the United Nations had received after over 50 potential contributing countries had been approached for contributions to UNAMIR, in anticipation of the expansion of the UNAMIR mandate, as authorized by the Council in its resolution 918 (1994), and explained that the United Nations expected, in the best of circumstances, to complete the deployment of the first phase of UNAMIR in the first week of July 1994.

The Secretary-General indicated that the Security Council might wish to consider the offer of the Government of France to undertake a French-commanded multinational operation, subject to Security Council authorization, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to assure the security and protection of displaced persons and civilians at risk in Rwanda. Such an operation would last until UNAMIR was brought up to the necessary strength to take over from the multinational force. This would imply that the multinational force should remain deployed for a minimum period of three months. The activities of the multinational force and those of UNAMIR would be closely coordinated by the respective force commanders.

In his letter, the Secretary-General stressed that the efforts of the international community to restore stability in Rwanda were directed at the resumption of the Arusha peace process. In that connection, his new Special Representative for Rwanda, Mr. Shaharyar Khan, former Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, planned to take up his assignment on shortly.

On 22 June 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 929 (1994), welcomed the Secretary-General's letter and agreed that a multinational operation might be set up for humanitarian purposes in Rwanda until UNAMIR was brought up to the necessary strength, and decided that it would be limited to two months following the resolution, unless the Secretary-General determined before then that an expanded UNAMIR was able to carry out its mandate. Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Council authorized Member States to conduct the operation using all necessary means to achieve their humanitarian objectives; costs of implementing the operation would be borne by the Member States concerned.

The French initiative, named Operation Turquoise, was launched on 23 June 1994. On 2 July, France announced that Operation Turquoise would establish a "humanitarian protected zone" in the Cyangugu-Kibuye-Gikongoro triangle in south-western Rwanda, covering about one fifth of Rwandese territory. While expressing its strong opposition to the French move, RPF did not seek confrontation with French forces which, on their side, avoided provocation.

From the start, close cooperation at all levels was established between UNAMIR and Operation Turquoise with frequent contact between both force commanders. Resolution 929 (1994) had authorized the deployment of the French force until 21 August 1994, and, on 11 July, the Prime Minister of France informed the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the French Government's decision to commence its withdrawal by 31 July.

In the first week of July an UNREO/Department of Humanitarian Affairs officer was dispatched to the French military base of operations at Goma in order to establish communications and ensure liaison between the command of Operation Turquoise, United Nations agencies and some 30 NGOs engaged in humanitarian assistance in the region.

UNHCR, with field staff in Goma, had been stockpiling relief supplies for as many as an additional 500,000 needy people in the entire region. UNHCR and other agencies increased their staff in the field and mobilized emergency stocks, both from facilities in the region and from warehouses in Europe. Needs exceeded resources available to the United Nations agencies, however. UNHCR resources were already strained by an outflow of more than 600,000 Rwandese refugees since late April, and another 500,000 Burundi refugees dependent on the agency for assistance. WFP, which had also begun redirecting food stocks, transport and personnel to deal with the massive flow to Zaire, was already providing 40,000 tons of food per month to Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, Zaire and Uganda to cover a caseload estimated at 2.5 million people. On 14 July, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees urgently appealed for trucks, water tankers, aircraft and funds to meet the crisis. UNICEF, which had pre-positioned some stocks of essential relief items in anticipation of new population movements, released $1 million from its emergency programme fund to secure additional supplies.

GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY ESTABLISHED

On 1 July 1994, the Secretary-General called for a halt to military operations in Rwanda, warning that the mass exodus of civilian populations could otherwise destabilize the region. Another call for a cease-fire was issued on 14 July 1994 by the President of the Security Council, who, in his statement, expressed the Council's alarm at the continuation of fighting in Rwanda.

The exodus of the population from the fighting could lead very quickly to a further humanitarian disaster, the President said, and could endanger the stability of the region. The Council demanded an immediate and unconditional cease-fire, urged the resumption of the political process in the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement, and also urged

Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to mobilize all available resources in order to provide humanitarian assistance.

On 18 July, RPF unilaterally declared a cease-fire, effectively ending the civil war which had broken out immediately after the deaths of the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi in a tragic plane accident on 6 April. On 19 July, a broad-based Government of national unity was formed.

APPEAL FOR HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT

Meanwhile, on 22 July 1994, the Secretary-General launched a $434.8 million consolidated inter-agency appeal for the Rwandese crisis. Noting that UNREO had been constantly engaged in coordinating humanitarian activities, he said the deterioration of the situation was now beyond the resources and capacity of the United Nations humanitarian agencies and non-governmental organizations. The immediate priority was to take care of the refugees who had left the country and provide humanitarian assistance for those who were still in Rwanda, he said.

While contingency planning by United Nations agencies, UNAMIR and NGOs was an ongoing process, as the consolidated inter-agency appeal was prepared in June a particularly intensive exercise was undertaken. Possible scenarios requiring a humanitarian response were considered, including the potential "nightmare scenario" of a flow of a million or more refugees into Zaire. Contingency measures such as identifying and positioning needed equipment and supplies were undertaken. It was recognized, however, that such a massive influx into Zaire would present tremendous logistics and security problems in a location with few viable sites for refugee camps, a weak infrastructure and considerable ethnic tensions of its own.

The Secretary-General also noted that clandestine radio broadcasts which were fanning the hatred and fear had aggravated an already dramatic situation. In addition, he said, retreating soldiers had urged and forced whole populations to leave their homes and follow them into exile, while in some cases, massacres had even been perpetrated deliberately in order to create situations of panic, chaos and fear.

He also announced that he was immediately sending the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs to Rwanda and the surrounding region to assess the situation and satisfy himself that coordination arrangements were in place. Afterwards, the Under-Secretary-General would chair a pledging conference in Geneva.

COMMISSION ESTABLISHED

On 25 July, the Secretary-General sent to the President of the Security Council a report by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the investigation of serious violations of international humanitarian law in Rwanda, in response to the Council's request for such information in resolution 918. The report included information on the visit of the Special Rapporteur, which took place from 9 to 20 June 1994.

On 26 July 1994, the Secretary-General reported to the Council that he had established a Commission of Experts pursuant to the Council's request in resolution 935 (1994). The Commission would provide the Secretary-General with its conclusions on the evidence of grave violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda, including the evidence of possible acts of genocide. The Secretary-General had taken note of the similarity of the Commission's mandate to that of the Special Rapporteur, and he would take administrative steps to ensure continuing collaboration between the two. The Commission would be located at the United Nations office in Geneva, where it could benefit from the resources of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

The first stage of the Commission's work would be to review available information and carry out its

own investigations in Rwanda. In the second stage, it would draw up its conclusions on the evidence of specific violations of international humanitarian law, and, in particular, of acts of genocide, on the basis of which identification of persons responsible for those violations could be made. In the light of those conclusions, the Commission would examine the question of the jurisdiction, international or national, before which such persons should be brought to trial.

The Secretary-General on 29 July 1994 announced that he had appointed three members to the Commission. He designated Mr. Atsu-Koffi Amega, a former President of the Supreme Court and former Foreign Minister of Togo, as Chairman of the Commission; other members were Mrs. Habi Dieng, Attorney-General of Guinea, and Mr. Salifou Fomba, Professor of International Law from Mali and a Member of the United Nations International Law Commission.

SECRETARY-GENERAL SEEKS MORE SUPPORT FOR UNAMIR

The Secretary-General on 1 August 1994 wrote to the Security Council that even though two and a half months had elapsed since the adoption of resolution 918 (1994), UNAMIR was as far from attaining the authorized troop strength as it was at the time of the adoption of the resolution, even though the Council had urged Governments to respond urgently to his request for resources for UNAMIR in resolutions 925 (1994) and 929 (1994).

While several Governments had responded positively, their offers were conditional and entailed complicated efforts to match troops from one country with equipment from another, the Secretary-General said. The result was that as of 25 July, less than 500 were on the ground apart from a number of military observers. While it was understandable that the appalling events in Rwanda constituted a strong disincentive against involvement, it had to be recognized that the hesitations and consequent delays had contributed to the catastrophe.

The need for reinforcements for UNAMIR remained urgent. The Secretary-General added that he was convinced that resources to help Rwanda did exist, and what was required was the political will in the countries around the world coalescing into a collective political will at the United Nations.

On 3 August 1994, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that RPF had established military control over most of the country, and recalled that about 1.5 million Rwandese had sought refuge in Zaire over a two-week period in July. The swift RPF advance had had the effect of causing large numbers of civilians to take flight from the areas of combat, but this displacement might well have been containable had not panic been caused by deliberately inflammatory broadcasts from radio stations controlled by elements of the former Government.

The protracted violence in Rwanda had created an almost unprecedented humanitarian crisis. Of a total population of approximately 7 million, as many as 500,000 had been killed, 3 million displaced internally and more than 2 million had fled to neighbouring countries. The international community was confronted with four basic humanitarian challenges: to respond to the immediate life-saving needs of refugees; to facilitate the early return of those who had fled their homes; to restore basic infrastructure in Rwanda; and to ensure a smooth transition in the humanitarian protected zone established by French forces.

Among those who had fled Rwanda, an outbreak of cholera had already claimed as many as 20,000 lives, and remained a continuing threat, while the logistics of arranging the daily supply and distribution of 30 million litres of drinking water and 1,000 tons of food were daunting. It was essential to promote and facilitate the early return of Rwandese to their homes, given the conditions in the refugee camps and the need within the next two weeks to harvest the crops there.

Meanwhile, short and medium-term rehabilitation was essential for the absorption of the returnee popu-

lation as well as the resettlement of the internally displaced, including at the least restoration of electricity, the water supply and telecommunications. It was also important to restore the capacity of the Government to carry out its responsibilities.

In addition, as many as 2 million internally displaced persons were estimated to be in the humanitarian protected zone in south-west Rwanda. To prevent an outflow of this group into Zaire, it was necessary to ensure the capacity of UNAMIR to take over responsibility in the area and to increase the humanitarian presence and activities there.

During his visit to Rwanda from 24 to 28 July, the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs had met with senior officials of the new Government in Rwanda to discuss how humanitarian aid could be delivered to all parts of the country and the urgent steps required to re-establish a climate conducive to the return of refugees and displaced persons. The new Government had indicated its commitment to encourage people to return to Rwanda, to ensure their protection and to permit full access to all those in need throughout the country. UNREO, headquartered in Kigali and with offices in Goma, Kabale and Bujumbura, continued to work with the United Nations agencies and the growing number of humanitarian NGOs to identify needs in Rwanda by sector and region.

UNAMIR's main tasks now were to ensure stability and security in the north-western and south-western regions of Rwanda; to stabilize and monitor the situation in all regions of Rwanda to encourage the return of the displaced population; to provide security and support for humanitarian assistance operations inside Rwanda; and to promote, through mediation and good offices, national reconciliation in Rwanda. UNAMIR had already deployed a company along the border near Goma, Zaire, as well as a number of observers in that region and in the zone controlled by Operation Turquoise. In the expectation that UNAMIR would eventually receive the 5,500 troops authorized by the Security Council, the Force Commander had planned deployment in five sectors. The Force headquarters would remain at Kigali, with the minimum units required for protection, along with specialized units for communications and logistics, as well as the field hospital. United Nations military observers and United Nations civilian police monitors would be deployed in all sectors according to operations requirements.

The principal areas of concern were in the north-west to resettle returning refugees, and in the south-west to avert possible outbreaks of violence. In the north-west, substantial numbers of the former Rwandese government forces and militia, as well as extremist elements suspected of involvement in the massacres of the Hutu opposition and RPF supporters, were mingled with the refugees in Zaire, and were reportedly trying to prevent their return. In the south-west a more volatile situation prevailed where armed elements of the Rwandese government forces had sought refuge in the French-protected zone; this situation was particularly pressing in view of the anxiety of the French Government to complete its withdrawal by 21 August. In discussions with UNAMIR, the new Rwandese Government had indicated that it would not insist on taking control of this area immediately, provided that UNAMIR would ensure its stability.

The Secretary-General said that by its failure to intervene sooner in Rwanda, the international community had acquiesced in the horrifying loss of human life and the suffering of an entire people. To make amends, the international community at the very least should ensure that those individuals responsible in their personal and official capacities for unleashing and instigating this cataclysm were brought to justice, he said.

To avoid problems of coordination, all foreign forces engaged in support of humanitarian efforts in the area should ideally be part of UNAMIR. If this was not possible, deployment of foreign forces should be authorized by the Security Council even if their mandate was purely humanitarian, and formal liaison arrangements should be established between them

and UNAMIR, as had been the case with Operation Turquoise.

The Secretary-General also urged the newly installed Government to commit itself to genuine and full reconciliation. The ultimate political aim must be the installation of a broad-based system of government that would give all elements of society, irrespective of ethnic origin or social level, a sense of security and a stake in the country. The Arusha agreement still provided principles and a broad framework for establishing such a system, the Secretary-General said.

COMPOSITION OF UNAMIR

Originally, the authorized peak military strength of UNAMIR was 2,548 military personnel, including 2,217 formed troops and 331 military observers. As of 31 March 1994, UNAMIR had a strength of 2,539 military personnel from the following countries: Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Canada, Congo, Egypt, Fiji, Ghana, Malawi, Mali, Netherlands, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Senegal, Togo, Tunisia, Uruguay and Zimbabwe. At that time, the Mission also comprised 60 civilian police monitors from Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Guyana, Mali and Togo, while it was authorized to have 110 international and 61 locally recruited civilian staff.

Following the outbreak of violence in April 1994, the Security Council adjusted UNAMIR's mandate and decided to reduce the Mission to 270 military personnel. After the situation in Rwanda further deteriorated, the Council authorized an expansion of UNAMIR's mandate and authorized an increase of the UNAMIR force level up to 5,500 troops. The larger mission would include five infantry battalions numbering some 4,000 all ranks, a force support battalion of approximately 721 personnel, a military observer group of 320 officers, 219 headquarters personnel, a helicopter squadron of some 110 all ranks and 16 helicopters, 50 military police personnel and a force of 90 civilian police.

UNOMUR has a force of 81 military observers, as of 30 June 1994. Military observers are provided by the following countries: Bangladesh, Botswana, Brazil, Hungary, Netherlands, Senegal, Slovak Republic and Zimbabwe. The mission also includes 10 international and six local civilian support staff.

NOTE

[1/] From July 1992 to July 1993, the OAU Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG I), made up of 50 observers from OAU countries, monitored the cease-fire in Rwanda. In early August 1993, it was replaced by an expanded NMOG II force, composed of some 130 personnel.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND STATEMENTS BY ITS PRESIDENT

(March 1993 — July 1994)

SECURITY COUNCIL

Under the United Nations Charter, the Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. All United Nations Member States have agreed to accept and carry out the Council's decisions in accordance with the Charter. The Council is composed of 15 members. Five are permanent: China, France, the Russian Federation,* the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America. The 10 non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly to serve two-year terms. Since 1993, the year in which UNOMUR and UNAMIR were established, non-permanent members of the Security Council were as follows:

1993 — Brazil, Cape Verde, Djibouti, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Spain and Venezuela.

1994 — Argentina, Brazil, Czech Republic, Djibouti, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Rwanda and Spain.

Each member of the Security Council has one vote. Decisions on substantive matters require nine affirmative votes including the concurring votes of all five permanent members. The permanent members may abstain or not participate at all in the voting, and still satisfy the stipulation of their concurrence in the affirmative vote. A negative vote by any permanent member means the rejection of the draft resolution or proposal.

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Between 12 March 1993 and 14 July 1994, the Council adopted 12 resolutions directly relating to the situation in Rwanda. In addition, the President of the Security Council issued five statements in this connection. A short summary and the full text of those resolutions and statements are reproduced on the following pages.

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* The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was an original Member of the United Nations from 24 October 1945. In a letter dated 24 December 1991, the President of the Russian Federation informed the Secretary-General that the membership of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the United Nations, including the Security Council and all the organs and organizations of the United Nations system, was being continued by the Russian Federation with the support of the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

RESOLUTIONS AND STATEMENTS: SUMMARY

RESOLUTION 812 (1993)

12 March 1993

The Council calls upon the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front to respect the cease-fire which took effect on 9 March 1993 to allow humanitarian efforts, and urges both sides to resume negotiations with a view to signing a peace agreement at the beginning of April. The Council also invites the Secretary-General to examine in consultation with the Organization of African Unity what contribution the United Nations could make to the peace process in Rwanda, in particular through the possible establishment of an international force, and to examine the request by Rwanda and Uganda for the deployment of observers at the border between the two countries.

RESOLUTION 846 (1993)

22 June 1993

The Council decides to establish the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) to monitor the border to verify that no military assistance reaches Rwanda. It also urges the Government of Rwanda and the RPF strictly to respect the rules of international law and to conclude quickly a comprehensive peace agreement.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

10 September 1993 S/26425

The Council welcomes the peace agreement concluded by the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front at Arusha on 4 August 1993, and welcomes the Secretary-General's decision to send a reconnaissance mission to Rwanda. It also urges the Government of Rwanda and the RPF to continue to honour the Arusha agreements and cooperate with the OAU's Neutral Military Observer Group.

RESOLUTION 872 (1993)

5 October 1993

The Council decides to establish the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) with a mandate that includes contributing to the security of Kigali, monitoring the security situation in the country and monitoring observance of the cease-fire agreement.

RESOLUTION 891 (1993)

20 December 1993

The Council extends the mandate of UNOMUR for six months, and notes that its integration within UNAMIR is purely administrative, and will in no way affect its mandate.

RESOLUTION 893 (1994)

6 January 1994

The Council strongly urges the parties to cooperate fully in furthering the peace process and stresses that continued support for UNAMIR will depend upon their full and prompt implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

17 February 1994 (S/PRST/1994/8)

The Council expresses concern at delays in the establishment of a broad-based transitional government, and encourages the President of Rwanda to continue his efforts for the speedy installation of other transitional institutions.

RESOLUTION 909 (1994)

5 April 1994

The Council regrets the delay in the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement, and recalls that continued support for UNAMIR will depend upon its implementation. It also commends the efforts of Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations which have provided humanitarian assistance and urges others to do likewise.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

7 April 1994 (S/PRST/1994/16)

The Council expresses regret at the tragic incident that resulted in the deaths of the Presidents of Burundi and Rwanda on 6 April 1994; strongly condemns attacks on Government leaders, civilians and peace-keepers; and appeals to all Rwandese to desist from further acts or threats of violence.

RESOLUTION 912 (1994)

21 April 1994

The Council condemns the ongoing violence in Rwanda, strongly condemns attacks against United Nations personnel and demands an immediate cessation of hostilities. It also authorizes a reduction in the size of UNAMIR, and adjusts its mandate to include acting as an intermediary between the parties in an attempt to secure their agreement to a cease-fire; to help to the extent feasible in the resumption of humanitarian relief operations; and to monitor developments in Rwanda, including the security of civilians who sought refuge with UNAMIR. It affirms its commitment to preserving the unity and territorial integrity of Rwanda.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

30 April 1994 (S/PRST/1994/21)

The Council, appalled at continuing reports of the slaughter of innocent civilians in Rwanda, demands that the interim Government of Rwanda and the RPF take effective measures to prevent any attacks on civilians in areas under their control, and recalls that the killing of members of an ethnic group with the intention of destroying such a group in whole or in part constitutes a crime punishable under international law. The Council also appeals to all States to refrain from providing arms or military assistance to the parties and states its willingness in principle to consider promptly the application of an arms embargo to Rwanda. It requests the Secretary-General to explore urgently ways of extending humanitarian relief assistance to refugees and displaced persons and to make proposals for investigation of the reports of serious violations of international humanitarian law.

RESOLUTION 918 (1994)

17 May 1994

Strongly condemning the ongoing violence in Rwanda, the Council expands UNAMIR's mandate to include contribution to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda, including

through the establishment and maintenance where feasible of secure humanitarian areas, and to provide security and support for humanitarian relief operations, and it authorizes an expansion of the UNAMIR force level to 5,500 troops. The Council also places an arms embargo on Rwanda, demands that all parties to the conflict bring an end to the violence, and requests the Secretary-General to present a report as soon as possible on the investigation of serious violations of international humanitarian law.

RESOLUTION 925 (1994)

8 June 1994

The Council endorses the Secretary-General's proposals for the deployment of the expanded UNAMIR and emphasizes the necessity that all appropriate steps be taken to ensure the security and safety of the operation and its personnel. It also welcomes the assurances of both parties to cooperate with UNAMIR in carrying out its mandate, demands that both parties adhere to those assurances and that all parties cease forthwith any incitement, especially through the mass media, to violence or ethnic hatred, and invites the international community to contribute generously to a special trust fund for Rwanda.

RESOLUTION 928 (1994)

20 June 1994

The Council extends UNOMUR's mandate for a final three months.

RESOLUTION 929

22 June 1994

The Council agrees that a multinational operation may be set up for humanitarian purposes in Rwanda until UNAMIR is brought up to the necessary strength, and, acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, authorizes the Member States cooperating with the Secretary-General to conduct the operation using all necessary means for humanitarian objectives including contributing to the security of displaced persons and providing security for humanitarian relief operations.

RESOLUTION 935 (1994)

1 July 1994

The Council calls on the Secretary-General to establish an impartial Commission of Experts to examine and analyse information with a view to providing the Secretary-General with its conclusions on the evidence of grave violations of international humanitarian law, including possible acts of genocide, and calls upon States, relevant United Nations bodies and relevant organizations to make information in their possession available within thirty days.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

14 July 1994 (S/PRST/1994/34)

The Council expresses its alarm at the continuation of fighting in Rwanda, which is causing a massive exodus of the population, demands an immediate and unconditional cease-fire and urges Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to mobilize all available resources to provide humanitarian assistance.

RESOLUTION 812 (1993)
12 March 1993

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The Security Council,

Taking note of the request contained in the letter of the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of Rwanda dated 4 March 1993 (S/25363),

Also taking note of the letters of the Permanent Representative of Rwanda (S/25355) and of the Permanent Representative of Uganda (S/25356) dated 22 February 1993 in which the Governments of both these countries called for the deployment of United Nations observers along their common border,

Gravely concerned by the fighting in Rwanda and its consequences regarding international peace and security,

Alarmed by the humanitarian consequences of the latest resumption of the fighting in Rwanda, in particular the increasing number of refugees and displaced persons, and by the threats to the civilian populations,

Stressing the need for a negotiated political solution, in the framework of the agreements signed by the parties in Arusha, in order to put an end to the conflict in Rwanda,

Paying tribute to the efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in order to promote such a political solution,

Taking note of the statements by the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) (S/25363, annexes 2 and 3) by which the Rwandese armed forces would remain in their current positions, the army of the RPF would pull back to the positions it occupied before 7 February 1993 and the buffer zone between the forces would be considered as a neutral demilitarized zone used to monitor the implementation of the cease-fire by an international force,

Welcoming the joint communiqué issued in Dar-es-Salaam on 7 March 1993 by the Government of Rwanda and the RPF, and concerning in particular the modalities of the cease-fire which should be effective on 9 March 1993 and on the situation of displaced persons (S/25385),

Welcoming the decision of the Secretary-General to send a goodwill mission to the region and ***having heard*** a first oral report on the mission,

Determined that the United Nations, in consultation with the OAU, and in support of its ongoing efforts, should consider how a United Nations contribution might assist the process towards a political settlement in Rwanda, in particular by preventing the resumption of fighting and by monitoring the cease-fire,

1. Calls upon the Government of Rwanda and the RPF to respect the cease-fire which took effect on 9 March 1993, to allow the delivery of humanitarian supplies and the return of displaced persons, to fulfil the obligations they have accepted in the agreements they have signed and to implement the commitments they have undertaken in their above-mentioned statements and joint communiqué;

2. Invites the Secretary-General to examine in consultation with the OAU the contribution that the United Nations, in support of the OAU's efforts, could bring to strengthen the peace process in Rwanda, in particular through the possible establishment of an international force under the aegis of the OAU and the United Nations, entrusted *inter alia* with the protection of, and humanitarian assistance to, the civilian population and the support of the OAU force for the monitoring of the cease-fire, and to report most urgently on the matter;

3. Also invites the Secretary-General to examine the request by Rwanda and Uganda for the deployment of observers at the border between these two countries;

4. Expresses its readiness to examine without delay the recommendations that the Secretary-General could submit in this regard;

5. Invites the Secretary-General to coordinate closely his efforts with those of the OAU;

6. Calls upon the Government of Rwanda and the RPF to cooperate fully with the efforts of the United Nations and the OAU;

7. Urges the Government of Rwanda and the RPF to resume the negotiations on 15 March 1993 as agreed, in order to resolve the pending questions with a view to signing a peace agreement at the beginning of April 1993 at the latest;

8. Urges both parties strictly to respect the rules of international humanitarian law;

9. Urges all States to refrain from any action that could increase the tension in Rwanda and jeopardize respect for the cease-fire;

10. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 846 (1993)
22 June 1993

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 812 (1993) of 12 March 1993,

Taking note of the interim report of the Secretary-General dated 20 May 1993 (S/25810 and Add.1),

Also taking note of the requests of the Governments of Rwanda and Uganda for the deployment of United Nations observers along their common border as a temporary confidence-building measure (S/25355, S/25356, S/25797),

Emphasizing the need to prevent the resumption of fighting in Rwanda that could have adverse consequences on the situation in Rwanda and on international peace and security,

Stressing the need for a negotiated political solution, in the framework of the agreements to be signed by the parties in Arusha, in order to put an end to the conflict in Rwanda,

Paying tribute to the efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania to promote such a political solution,

Taking note of the joint request of the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) concerning the establishment of a neutral international force in Rwanda (S/25951),

Stressing the importance of the ongoing negotiations in Arusha between the Government of Rwanda and the RPF, and ***expressing*** its readiness to consider assistance to the OAU in the implementation of the agreements as soon as they are signed,

1. Welcomes with appreciation the report of the Secretary-General (S/25810 and Add.1);

2. Decides to establish the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) that will be deployed on the Ugandan side of the border, for an initial period of six months, as set out in the report of the Secretary-General (S/25810 and Add.1), and subject to review every six months;

3. Decides that UNOMUR shall monitor the Uganda/Rwanda border to verify that no military assistance reaches Rwanda, focus being put primarily in this regard on transit or transport, by roads or tracks which could accommodate vehicles, of lethal weapons and ammunition across the border, as well as any other material which could be of military use;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to conclude with the Government of Uganda, before the full deployment of UNOMUR, a status of mission agreement including the safety, cooperation and support the Government of Uganda will provide to UNOMUR;

5. Approves the dispatching of an advance party within fifteen days of the adoption of this resolution or as soon as possible after the conclusion of the status

of mission agreement and the full deployment within thirty days of the arrival of the advance party;

6. Urges the Government of Rwanda and the RPF strictly to respect the rules of international humanitarian law;

7. Further urges the Government of Rwanda and the RPF to refrain from any action that could contribute to tension;

8. Welcomes the decision of the Secretary-General to support the peace efforts of the OAU by putting two military experts at its disposal with a view to assisting the Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG), in particular through logistic expertise to help expedite deployment of the enlarged NMOG to Rwanda;

9. Urges the Government of Rwanda and the RPF to conclude quickly a comprehensive peace agreement;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the results of the Arusha peace talks;

11. Further requests the Secretary-General to report on the contribution the United Nations could make to assist the OAU in the implementation of the above-mentioned agreement and to begin contingency planning in the event that the Council decides such a contribution is needed;

12. Also requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the implementation of the present resolution within sixty days of the deployment of UNOMUR;

13. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
10 September 1993 S/26425

At the 3273rd meeting of the Security Council, held on 10 September 1993, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item "The situation concerning Rwanda", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the members:

The Security Council welcomes the peace agreement concluded by the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front at Arusha on 4 August 1993. The Council is aware of the hopes the Rwandese parties entertain that the international community will lend its assistance in the implementation of the agreement. It has also taken note of the importance they attach to 10 September 1993, the date that is to mark the establishment of transitional institutions.

The Security Council welcomes in this regard the decision taken by the Secretary-General to send a reconnaissance mission to Rwanda. The Council hopes to have the report of the Secretary-General based on the recommendations of the reconnaissance mission in the next few days so that it can consider the contribution the United Nations could make to facilitate the implementation of the Arusha peace agreement.

The Security Council urges the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front to continue to honour the Arusha agreements in accordance with their commitments. It further urges them to continue to cooperate with the Neutral Military Observer Group, whose mandate the Secretary-General of OAU has decided to extend on an interim basis.

RESOLUTION 872 (1993)
5 October 1993

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 812 (1993) of 12 March 1993 and 846 (1993) of 22 June 1993,

Reaffirming also its resolution 868 (1993) of 29 September 1993 on the security of United Nations operations,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 24 September 1993 (S/26488 and Add.1),

Welcoming the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement (including its Protocols) on 4 August 1993 and ***urging*** the parties to continue to comply fully with it,

Noting the conclusion of the Secretary-General that in order to enable the United Nations to carry out its mandate successfully and effectively, the full cooperation of the parties with one another and with the Organization is required,

Stressing the urgency of the deployment of an international neutral force in Rwanda, as underlined both by the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and by the Rwandese Patriotic Front and as reaffirmed by their joint delegation in New York,

Paying tribute to the role played by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and by the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania in the conclusion of the Arusha Peace Agreement,

Resolved that the United Nations should, at the request of the parties and under peaceful conditions with the full cooperation of all the parties, make its full contribution to the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General (S/26488);

2. Decides to establish a peace-keeping operation under the name "United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda" (UNAMIR) for a period of six months subject to the proviso that it will be extended beyond the initial ninety days only upon a review by the Council based on a report from the Secretary-General as to whether or not substantive progress has been made towards the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement;

3. Decides that, drawing from the Secretary-General's recommendations, UNAMIR shall have the following mandate:

(a) To contribute to the security of the city of Kigali *inter alia* within a weapons-secure area established by the parties in and around the city;

(b) To monitor observance of the cease-fire agreement, which calls for the establishment of cantonment and assembly zones and the demarcation of the new demilitarized zone and other demilitarization procedures;

(c) To monitor the security situation during the final period of the transitional government's mandate, leading up to the elections;

(d) To assist with mine clearance, primarily through training programmes;

(e) To investigate at the request of the parties or on its own initiative instances of alleged non-compliance with the provisions of the Arusha Peace Agreement relating to the integration of the armed forces, and pursue any such instances with the parties responsible and report thereon as appropriate to the Secretary-General;

(f) To monitor the process of repatriation of Rwandese refugees and resettlement of displaced persons to verify that it is carried out in a safe and orderly manner;

(g) To assist in the coordination of humanitarian assistance activities in conjunction with relief operations;

(h) To investigate and report on incidents regarding the activities of the gendarmerie and police;

4. Approves the Secretary-General's proposal that the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) established by resolution 846 (1993) should be integrated within UNAMIR;

5. Welcomes the efforts and the cooperation of the OAU in helping to implement the Arusha Peace Agreement, in particular the integration of the Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG II) within UNAMIR;

6. Further approves the Secretary-General's proposal that the deployment and withdrawal of UNAMIR should be carried out in stages and ***notes*** in this connection that UNAMIR's mandate, if extended, is expected to terminate following national elections and the installation of a new government in Rwanda, events which are scheduled to occur by October 1995, but no later than December 1995;

7. Authorizes the Secretary-General, in this context, to deploy the first contingent, at the level specified by the Secretary-General's report, to Kigali for an initial period of six months, in the shortest possible time,

which, when fully in place, will permit the establishment of the transitional institutions and implementation of the other relevant provisions of the Arusha Peace Agreement;

8. Invites the Secretary-General, in the context of the report referred to in paragraph 2 above, also to report on the progress of UNAMIR following its initial deployment, and ***resolves*** to review as appropriate, on the basis of that report and as part of the review referred to in paragraph 2 above, the requirement for further deployments in the scale and composition recommended by the Secretary-General in his report (S/26488);

9. Invites the Secretary-General to consider ways of reducing the total maximum strength of UNAMIR, in particular through phased deployment without thereby affecting the capacity of UNAMIR to carry out its mandate, and ***requests*** the Secretary-General in planning and executing the phased deployment of UNAMIR to seek economies and to report regularly on what is achieved in this regard;

10. Welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative who would lead UNAMIR in the field and exercise authority over all its elements;

11. Urges the parties to implement the Arusha Peace Agreement in good faith;

12. Also requests the Secretary-General to conclude expeditiously an agreement on the status of the operation, and all personnel engaged in the operation in Rwanda, to come into force as near as possible to the outset of the operation and no later than thirty days after the adoption of this resolution;

13. Demands that the parties take all appropriate steps to ensure the security and safety of the operation and personnel engaged in the operation;

14. Urges Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to provide and intensify their economic, financial and humanitarian assistance in favour of the Rwandese population and of the democratization process in Rwanda;

15. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 891 (1993)
20 December 1993

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 812 (1993) of 12 March 1993 and 846 (1993) of 22 June 1993,

Recalling its resolution 872 (1993) of 5 October 1993 establishing the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR),

Having examined the Secretary-General's report (S/26878) dated 15 December 1993,

Welcoming the substantial results obtained by the deployment of the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR),

Endorsing the Secretary-General's view, shared by the Governments of Uganda and Rwanda, that UNOMUR has been a factor of stability in the area and that it is playing a useful role as a confidence-building mechanism,

1. Welcomes the Secretary-General's report (S/26878);

2. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMUR for a period of six months, as envisaged in Security Council resolution 846 (1993);

3. Notes that the integration of UNOMUR within UNAMIR is purely administrative in nature and that it will in no way affect the mandate of UNOMUR as set out in resolution 846 (1993);

4. Expresses its appreciation to the Government of Uganda for its cooperation and support for UNOMUR;

5. Underlines the importance of civilian and military authorities in the mission area continuing to have a cooperative attitude;

6. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 893 (1994)
6 January 1994

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 872 (1993) of 5 October 1993 establishing the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR),

Recalling its resolutions 812 (1993) of 12 March 1993, 846 (1993) of 22 June 1993 and 891 (1993) of 20 December 1993,

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General of 30 December 1993 (S/26927), in the context of the review called for in its resolution 872 (1993), as well as his previous report of 24 September 1993 (S/26488 and Add.1),

Welcoming the conclusion, on 5 November 1993, of an agreement on the status of UNAMIR and its personnel in Rwanda,

Taking note of the progress described in the Secretary-General's report of 30 December 1993 in implementing the Arusha Peace Agreement,

Welcoming further the valuable contribution to peace made in Rwanda by UNAMIR,

Noting with concern the incidents of violence in Rwanda and the consequences for Rwanda of the situation in Burundi, and ***urging*** all concerned to reaffirm their commitment to peace,

Welcoming also the joint statement made by the parties in Kinihira on 10 December 1993 concerning the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement and, in particular, the prompt establishment of a broad-based transitional government,

1. Reaffirms its approval of the Secretary-General's proposal concerning the deployment of UNAMIR as outlined in his report of 24 September 1993, including the early deployment of the second battalion to the demilitarized zone as indicated in paragraph 30 of his report of 30 December 1993;

2. Strongly urges the parties to cooperate fully in furthering the peace process, to comply fully with the Arusha Peace Agreement, on which the schedule contained in the Secretary-General's report of 24 September 1993 is based, and in particular to establish a broad-based transitional government at the earliest opportunity in accordance with this Agreement;

3. Stresses that continued support for UNAMIR will depend upon the full and prompt implementation by the parties of the Arusha Peace Agreement;

4. Welcomes the continued efforts by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to help promote and enhance dialogue among all the parties concerned;

5. Commends the efforts of Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations which have provided humanitarian and other assistance and ***urges*** others to provide such assistance;

6. Commends in particular the efforts of the Organization of African Unity, its member States and agencies in providing diplomatic, political, humanitarian and other support for the implementation of resolution 872 (1993);

7. Reiterates its request to the Secretary-General to continue to monitor the size and cost of UNAMIR to seek economies;

8. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
17 February 1994 (S/PRST/1994/8)

At the 3337th meeting of the Security Council, held on 17 February 1994, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item "The situation concerning Rwanda", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council, which welcomed the conclusion of the Arusha Peace Agreement and the political will demonstrated by the Rwandese parties in implementing it, remains deeply concerned by the delays in

establishing the broad-based transitional government which is one of the key points in the Agreement. The absence of such a government is an impediment to progress under that Agreement and the functioning of institutions of the State. Furthermore, it is having adverse effects on the humanitarian situation in the country, the deterioration of which is of profound concern to the international community. The speedy installation of a broad-based transitional government would facilitate the provision of more effective assistance to the populations in need.

The Security Council, taking note of the fact that the President of Rwanda has been sworn in as the interim Head of State, encourages him, in the context of that responsibility, to continue his efforts for the speedy installation of the other transitional institutions, in conformity with the Arusha Peace Agreement.

The Security Council calls on all the parties concerned to overcome their differences and cooperate fully with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in order to advance the process of national reconciliation. It strongly urges the establishment, without delay, of the provisional institutions provided for in the Arusha Peace Agreement.

The Security Council is also deeply concerned at the deterioration in the security situation, particularly in Kigali. In this connection, it reminds the parties of their obligation to respect the weapon-free zone established in and around the city.

The Security Council calls the attention of the parties to the consequences for them of non-compliance with that provision of the Agreement. It notes that UNAMIR will be assured of consistent support only if the parties implement the Arusha Peace Agreement fully and rapidly.

RESOLUTION 909 (1994)
5 April 1994

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 872 (1993) of 5 October 1993 establishing the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), as well as its resolution 893 (1994) of 6 January 1994,

Recalling its resolutions 812 (1993) of 12 March 1993, 846 (1993) of 22 June 1993 and 891 (1993) of 20 December 1993,

Recalling also its statement dated 17 February 1994 (S/PRST/1994/8),

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 30 March 1994 (S/1994/360),

Welcoming the valuable contribution to peace being made in Rwanda by UNAMIR,

Expressing its deep concern at the delay in the establishment of the broad-based transitional Government and the Transitional National Assembly,

Emphasizing that the Security Council, in resolution 893 (1994) of 6 January 1994, authorized the deployment of a second battalion to the demilitarized zone as recommended by the Secretary-General in his report of 30 December 1993 (S/26927), and that the international community has thus done its part in ensuring that conditions exist for implementing the Agreement,

Considering that the fact that the transitional institutions have not been established constitutes a major obstacle to the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement,

Concerned at the deterioration in security in the country, particularly in Kigali,

Concerned also at the deterioration of the humanitarian and health situation,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on Rwanda dated 30 March 1994;

2. Decides to extend the mandate of UNAMIR until 29 July 1994, on the understanding that the Security Council will, within the next six weeks, review the situation in Rwanda, including the role played in that country by the United Nations, if the Secretary-Gen-

eral informs it in a report that the transitional institutions provided for under the Arusha Peace Agreement have not been established and that insufficient progress has been made for the implementation of phase II of the Secretary-General's plan contained in his report of 24 September 1993 (S/26488);

3. Regrets the delay in the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement, and ***urges*** the parties to resolve their latest differences without delay with a view to the immediate establishment of those transitional institutions still required for the continuation of the process, and particularly the implementation of phase II;

4. Welcomes the fact that, despite the difficulties encountered in implementing the Arusha Peace Agreement, the cease-fire has been respected, and ***commends*** in this respect the essential contribution made by UNAMIR;

5. Recalls nevertheless that continued support for UNAMIR, including the provision of an additional 45 civilian police monitors as described in paragraph 38 of the Secretary-General's report, will depend upon full and prompt implementation by the parties of the Arusha Peace Agreement;

6. Welcomes the continued efforts by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to help promote and facilitate dialogue between all parties concerned;

7. Commends the efforts of Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations which have provided humanitarian and other assistance, ***encourages*** them to continue and increase such assistance, and again ***urges*** others to provide such assistance;

8. Commends in particular the efforts of the Organization of African Unity and its agencies, as well as those of the Tanzanian facilitator, in providing diplomatic, political, humanitarian and other support for the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Council;

9. Reiterates its request to the Secretary-General to continue to monitor the size and cost of UNAMIR to seek economies;

10. Decides to remain actively seized of the question.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT 7 April 1994 (S/PRST/1994/16)

At the 3361st meeting of the Security Council, held on 7 April 1994, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation concerning Rwanda", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council is deeply disturbed by the tragic incident that resulted in the deaths of the Presidents of Burundi and Rwanda on 6 April 1994 and the ensuing violence. The Council expresses regret at the incident. It invites the Secretary-General to collect all available information with all means at his disposal and report to the Council as soon as possible.

The Security Council is following with great concern the situation as described by the Secretariat in its oral report. There has been considerable loss of lives, including the deaths of Government leaders, many civilians and at least ten Belgian peace-keepers as well as the reported kidnapping of others. The Council strongly condemns these horrific attacks and their perpetrators, who must be held responsible.

The Council strongly condemns all these acts of violence and in particular these attacks against United Nations personnel and urges the Rwandese security forces and military and paramilitary units to put an end to these attacks and to cooperate fully with UNAMIR in the implementation of its mandate. It further demands that all measures be taken to provide security throughout the country and particularly in Kigali and the demilitarized zone (DMZ). Furthermore, the Council expresses its extreme concern at the implications for United Nations personnel and requests the Secretary-General to report on and take measures necessary to ensure their safety and security. The Council also demands that free access to the

airport be restored in order to allow those who wish to enter or leave the country to do so.

The Council appeals to all Rwandese and to all parties and factions to desist from any further acts or threats of violence and to maintain the positions they held before the incident. It urges respect for the safety and security of the civilian population and of the foreign communities living in Rwanda as well as of UNAMIR and other United Nations personnel.

The Security Council earlier this week renewed the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Rwanda for a further four months, with a six-week review provision on the understanding that progress would be made in establishing all the transitional institutions under the Arusha Peace Agreement. It reaffirms its commitment to the Arusha Peace Agreement and urges all parties to implement it fully and in particular to respect the cease-fire.

The Council will remain seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 912 (1994)
21 April 1994

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming all its previous resolutions on the situation in Rwanda, in particular its resolution 872 (1993) of 5 October 1993 by which it established the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR),

Recalling its resolution 909 (1994) of 5 April 1994, which extended the mandate of UNAMIR until 29 July 1994 with a six-week review provision on the understanding that progress would be made in establishing the transitional institutions provided for under the Arusha Peace Agreement between the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front,

Recalling also its statement of 7 April 1994 (S/PRST/1994/16) which, *inter alia*, reaffirmed its commitment to the Arusha Peace Agreement and urged all parties to implement it fully,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 20 April 1994 (S/1994/470),

Stressing that the Arusha Peace Agreement remains central to the peace process in Rwanda,

Expressing deep regret at the failure of the parties to implement fully the provisions of the Arusha Peace Agreement, particularly those provisions relating to the cease-fire,

Recognizing the initiatives made by the late Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi towards resolving the problems in their countries through peaceful means and in collaboration with regional leaders,

Shocked at the tragic incident that resulted in the deaths of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi on 6 April 1994,

Appalled at the ensuing large-scale violence in Rwanda, which has resulted in the death of thousands of innocent civilians, including women and children, the displacement of a significant number of the Rwandese population, including those who sought refuge with UNAMIR, and the significant increase in refugees to neighbouring countries,

Deeply concerned by continuing fighting, looting, banditry and the breakdown of law and order, particularly in Kigali,

Stressing the need for all countries to avoid any action that might exacerbate the situation in Rwanda,

Expressing its deep concern for the safety and security of UNAMIR and other United Nations personnel, and personnel of non-governmental organizations who are assisting in implementing the peace process and in distributing humanitarian relief,

1. Takes note of the report of the Secretary-General dated 20 April 1994;

2. Expresses regret at the tragic incident in which the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi lost their lives, and ***reiterates*** its invitation to the Secretary-General to report to the Council as requested in its statement of 7 April 1994;

3. Expresses regret also at the ensuing violence which has claimed the lives of the Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers, Government officials and thousands of other civilians;

4. Condemns the ongoing violence in Rwanda, particularly in Kigali, which endangers the lives and safety of the civilian population;

5. Strongly condemns the attacks against UNAMIR and other United Nations personnel leading to the deaths of and injury to several UNAMIR personnel and ***calls upon*** all concerned to put an end to these acts of violence and to respect fully international humanitarian law;

6. Demands an immediate cessation of hostilities between the forces of the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front and for an end to the mindless violence and carnage which are engulfing Rwanda;

7. Commends the active role of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and of the Force Commander to bring about a cease-fire and to mediate between the parties in order to bring about the earliest resolution of the Rwandese crisis;

8. Decides, in the light of the current situation in Rwanda, to adjust the mandate of UNAMIR as follows:

(a) To act as an intermediary between the parties in an attempt to secure their agreement to a cease-fire;

(b) To assist in the resumption of humanitarian relief operations to the extent feasible; and

(c) To monitor and report on developments in Rwanda, including the safety and security of the civilians who sought refuge with UNAMIR,

and ***authorizes*** c force level as set out in paragraphs 15 to 18 of the Secretary-General's report of 20 April 1994 for that purpose;

9. Decides to keep the situation in Rwanda under constant review and ***states its readiness*** to consider promptly any recommendations which the Secretary-General may make concerning the force level and mandate of UNAMIR in the light of developments;

10. Reiterates the crucial importance of the full implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement to the settlement of the Rwandese conflict and ***invites*** the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to continue to cooperate fully with the United Nations in this regard;

11. Commends the efforts made by the leaders of the subregion at finding a solution to the crisis in Rwanda and ***calls on*** the leaders of the region, especially the facilitator to the Arusha peace process, to persevere and intensify their efforts, in cooperation with OAU and the United Nations;

12. Reaffirms that the Arusha Peace Agreement remains the only viable framework for the resolution of the Rwandese conflict and serves as the basis for peace, national unity and reconciliation in the country and ***calls on*** the parties to renew their commitment to this Agreement;

13. Calls also upon the parties to cooperate fully in ensuring the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all in need throughout Rwanda and in this regard ***appeals*** to the international community to provide increased humanitarian assistance commensurate with the scale of the human tragedy in Rwanda;

14. Affirms its commitment to preserving the unity and territorial integrity of Rwanda;

15. Invites the Secretary-General to continue to monitor the events in Rwanda and to report fully to the Council on the evolving situation not later than fifteen days after the adoption of this resolution;

16. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT 30 April 1994 (S/PRST/1994/21)

At the 3371st meeting of the Security Council, held on 30 April 1994, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation concerning Rwanda", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council.

The Security Council is appalled at continuing reports of the slaughter of innocent civilians in Kigali and other parts of Rwanda, and reported preparations for further massacres. It endorses the concern expressed by the Central Organ for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that the massacres and wanton killings have continued unabated in a systematic manner in Rwanda. It recalls that such killings have already been condemned by the Security Council in its resolution 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994.

Attacks on defenceless civilians have occurred throughout the country, especially in areas under the control of members or supporters of the armed forces of the interim Government of Rwanda. The Security Council demands that the interim Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front take effective measures to prevent any attacks on civilians in areas under their control. It calls on the leadership of both parties to condemn publicly such attacks and to commit themselves to ensuring that persons who instigate or participate in such attacks are prosecuted and punished.

The Security Council condemns all these breaches of international humanitarian law in Rwanda, particularly those perpetrated against the civilian population, and recalls that persons who instigate or participate in such acts are individually responsible. In this context, the Security Council recalls that the killing of members of an ethnic group with the intention of destroying such a group in whole or in part constitutes a crime punishable under international law.

The Security Council reiterates the demand in its resolution 912 (1994) for an immediate cease-fire and cessation of hostilities between the forces of the interim Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front. It commends the efforts by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the Force Commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to mediate such an outcome, and requests them to continue their efforts in liaison with countries of the region and the OAU. It also commends the courage and determination of UNAMIR personnel in affording protection to civilians who sought refuge with UNAMIR.

The Security Council welcomes the efforts that have been made by countries of the region, with the assistance of the Organization of African Unity, to bring about an end to the fighting and the killings in Rwanda. It also commends the efforts of States, United Nations agencies, and non-governmental organizations to provide emergency humanitarian assistance to the suffering people of Rwanda.

The Security Council is deeply concerned at the situation of the many thousands of refugees and displaced persons who have been forced to flee the fighting and killings in Rwanda.

The Security Council calls on all States to assist the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other humanitarian and relief agencies operating in the area in meeting the urgent humanitarian needs in Rwanda and its bordering States. The Council calls on States bordering Rwanda, working with the OAU, to provide appropriate protection to refugees and to facilitate transfer of goods and supplies to meet the needs of the displaced persons within Rwanda.

The Security Council calls on all Rwandese parties to guarantee the protection of displaced persons and refugees in Rwanda and refugees outside Rwanda and to ensure safe passage for humanitarian assistance.

The Security Council underlines the urgent need for coordinated international action to help bring peace to Rwanda and to alleviate the suffering of the Rwandese people. It requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Secretary-General of the OAU and countries of the region, to take appropriate measures to ensure that international efforts to assist the situation in Rwanda are carried out in an effective and coordinated manner, and to ensure that all relevant parties are kept fully informed.

The Security Council emphasizes the importance of Kigali airport for the provision of international relief efforts to Rwanda, as well as for the requirements of UNAMIR. It calls on the parties to allow the airport to be kept open at all times for such purposes.

The Security Council stresses the importance of ensuring that the situation in Rwanda does not affect adversely the security and stability of neighbouring countries.

The Security Council warns that the situation in Rwanda would be further seriously aggravated if either of the parties were to have access to additional arms. It appeals to all States to refrain from providing arms or any military assistance to the parties to the conflict. It states its willingness in principle to consider promptly the application of an arms embargo to Rwanda.

The Security Council reaffirms its commitment to preserving the unity and territorial integrity of Rwanda. It reiterates its conviction that the Arusha Peace Agreement remains the only viable framework for the resolution of the Rwanda conflict and serves as the basis for peace, national unity and reconciliation in the country. It calls again on the parties to renew their commitment to this Agreement.

The Security Council requests the Secretary-General:

(a) in consultation with the Secretary-General of the OAU, to report further on action which may be undertaken with a view to assisting in the restoration of law and order in Rwanda and in providing security for displaced persons;

(b) to work with UNHCR, the OAU and countries of the region to take such preventive diplomatic steps as may be necessary to prevent the spread of violence and atrocities to neighbouring countries;

(c) to explore urgently ways of extending humanitarian relief assistance to refugees and displaced persons;

(d) to consult UNHCR on measures to provide humanitarian assistance to those displaced persons congregated along the borders with Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire and Burundi;

(e) to bring to its attention any information that he might receive concerning arms flows into Rwanda, and to consult the countries of the region and the OAU about the practical implementation of an arms embargo on Rwanda; and

(f) to make proposals for investigation of the reports of serious violations of international humanitarian law during the conflict.

The Security Council states its intention to consider urgently the letter of the Secretary-General dated 29 April 1994 (S/1994/518) and further recommendations that the Secretary-General may provide.

RESOLUTION 918 (1994)
17 May 1994

Adopted as a whole by unanimous vote. Prior to the adoption of the text in its entirety, Section B was adopted by a vote of 14 in favour, one against (Rwanda).

Sponsors: The Czech Republic, France, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming all its previous resolutions on the situation in Rwanda, in particular its resolution 872 (1993) of 5 October 1993 by which it established the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), its resolution 909 (1994) of 5 April 1994 which extended the mandate of UNAMIR until 29 July 1994, and its resolution 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994 by which it adjusted the mandate of UNAMIR,

Recalling the statements made by the President of the Council on 7 April 1994 (S/PRST/1994/16) and 30 April 1994 (S/PRST/1994/21),

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 13 May 1994 (S/1994/565),

Reaffirming its resolution 868 (1993) of 29 September 1993 on the security of United Nations operations,

Strongly condemning the ongoing violence in Rwanda and particularly condemning the very numerous killings of civilians which have taken place in Rwanda and the impunity with which armed individuals have been able to operate and continue operating therein,

Stressing the importance of the Arusha Peace Agreement to the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Rwanda and the necessity for all parties to recommit themselves to its full implementation,

Commending the efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its organs, as well as the efforts of the Tanzanian Facilitator, in providing diplomatic, political, and humanitarian support for the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Council,

Deeply concerned that the situation in Rwanda, which has resulted in the death of many thousands of innocent civilians, including women and children, the internal displacement of a significant percentage of the Rwandese population, and the massive exodus of refugees to neighbouring countries, constitutes a humanitarian crisis of enormous proportions,

Expressing once again its alarm at continuing reports of systematic, widespread and flagrant violations of international humanitarian law in Rwanda, as well as other violations of the rights to life and property,

Recalling in this context that the killing of members of an ethnic group with the intention of destroying such a group, in whole or in part, constitutes a crime punishable under international law,

Strongly urging all parties to cease forthwith any incitement, especially through the mass media, to violence or ethnic hatred,

Recalling also its request to the Secretary-General to collect information on the responsibility for the tragic incident that resulted in the death of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi,

Recalling further that it had requested the Secretary-General to make proposals for the investigation of reports of serious violations of international humanitarian law during the conflict,

Underlining the urgent need for coordinated international action to alleviate the suffering of the Rwandese people and to help restore peace in Rwanda, and in this connection ***welcoming*** cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU as well as with countries of the region, especially the facilitator of the Arusha peace process,

Desiring in this context to expand the mandate of UNAMIR for humanitarian purposes, and ***stressing*** the importance it attaches to the support and cooperation of the parties for the successful implementation of all aspects of that mandate,

Reaffirming its commitment to the unity and territorial integrity of Rwanda,

Recognizing that the people of Rwanda bear ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and reconstruction of their country,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering caused by the conflict and ***concerned*** that the continuation of the situation in Rwanda constitutes a threat to peace and security in the region,

A

1. Demands that all parties to the conflict immediately cease hostilities, agree to a cease-fire, and bring an end to the mindless violence and carnage engulfing Rwanda;

2. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 13 May 1994 (S/1994/565);

3. Decides to expand UNAMIR's mandate under resolution 912 (1994) to include the following additional responsibilities within the limits of the resources available to it:

(a) To contribute to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda, including through the establishment and maintenance, where feasible, of secure humanitarian areas;

(b) To provide security and support for the distribution of relief supplies and humanitarian relief operations;

4. Recognizes that UNAMIR may be required to take action in self-defence against persons or groups who threaten protected sites and populations, United Nations and other humanitarian personnel or the means of delivery and distribution of humanitarian relief;

5. Authorizes in this context an expansion of the UNAMIR force level up to 5,500 troops;

6. Requests the Secretary-General, as recommended in his report, and as a first phase, immediately to redeploy to Rwanda the UNAMIR military observers currently in Nairobi and to bring up to full strength the elements of the mechanized infantry battalion currently in Rwanda;

7. Further requests the Secretary-General to report as soon as possible on the next phase of UNAMIR's deployment including, *inter alia*, on the cooperation of the parties, progress towards a cease-fire, availability of resources and the proposed duration of the mandate for further review and action, as required, by the Council;

8. Encourages the Secretary-General to accelerate his efforts, in conjunction with the Secretary-General of the OAU, to obtain from Member States the necessary personnel to enable deployment of the expanded UNAMIR to proceed urgently;

9. Invites Member States to respond promptly to the Secretary-General's request for the resources required, including logistical support capability for rapid deployment of the UNAMIR expanded force level and its support in the field;

10. Strongly urges all parties in Rwanda to cooperate fully with UNAMIR in the implementation of its mandate and in particular in ensuring its freedom of movement and the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance, and ***further calls upon*** them to treat Kigali airport as a neutral zone under the control of UNAMIR;

11. Demands that all parties in Rwanda strictly respect the persons and premises of the United Nations and other organizations serving in Rwanda, and refrain from any acts of intimidation or violence against personnel engaged in humanitarian and peace-keeping work;

12. Commends the efforts of States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations which have provided humanitarian and other assistance, ***encourages*** them to continue and increase such assistance, and ***urges*** others to provide such assistance;

B

Determining that the situation in Rwanda constitutes a threat to peace and security in the region,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

13. Decides that all States shall prevent the sale or supply to Rwanda by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft of arms and related *matériel* of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary police equipment and spare parts;

14. Decides also to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, a Committee of the Security Council consisting of all the members of the Council, to undertake the following tasks and to report on its work to the Council with its observations and recommendations:

(a) To seek from all States information regarding the action taken by them concerning the effective implementation of the embargo imposed by paragraph 13 above;

(b) To consider any information brought to its attention by States concerning violations of the embargo, and in that context to make recommendations to the Council on ways of increasing the effectiveness of the embargo;

(c) To recommend appropriate measures in response to violations of the embargo imposed by paragraph 13 above and provide information on a regular basis to the Secretary-General for general distribution to Member States;

15. Calls upon all States, including States not Members of the United Nations, and international organi-

zations to act strictly in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution, notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any licence or permit granted prior to the date of the adoption of this resolution;

16. Decides that the provisions set forth in paragraphs 13 and 15 above do not apply to activities related to UNAMIR and UNOMUR;

17. Requests the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance to the Committee and to make the necessary arrangements in the Secretariat for this purpose;

C

18. Requests the Secretary-General to present a report as soon as possible on the investigation of serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda during the conflict;

19. Invites the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, in coordination with the OAU and countries in the region, to continue their efforts to achieve a political settlement in Rwanda within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement;

20. Decides to keep the situation in Rwanda under constant review and ***requests*** the Secretary-General to report further, including on the humanitarian situation, within five weeks of the adoption of this resolution and again in good time before the expiration of the current mandate of UNAMIR;

21. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 925 (1994)
8 June 1994

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming all its previous resolutions on the situation in Rwanda, in particular its resolutions 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994 and 918 (1994) of 17 May 1994, which set out the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR),

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 31 May 1994 (S/1994/640),

Bearing in mind the statement made by the President of the Council on 3 May 1994 (S/PRST/1994/22),

Reaffirming its resolution 868 (1993) of 29 September 1993 on the security of United Nations operations,

Noting with concern that, to date, the parties have not ceased hostilities, agreed to a cease-fire, or brought an end to the violence and carnage affecting civilians,

Noting with the gravest concern the reports indicating that acts of genocide have occurred in Rwanda and ***recalling*** in this context that genocide constitutes a crime punishable under international law,

Reiterating its strong condemnation of the ongoing violence in Rwanda and, in particular, the systematic killing of thousands of civilians,

Expressing its outrage that the perpetrators of these killings have been able to operate and continue operating within Rwanda with impunity,

Noting that UNAMIR is not to have the role of a buffer force between the two parties,

Noting also that UNAMIR's expanded military component will continue only as long as and to the extent that it is needed to contribute to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda and to provide security, as required, to humanitarian relief operations,

Underscoring that the internal displacement of some 1.5 million Rwandese facing starvation and disease and the massive exodus of refugees to neighbouring countries constitute a humanitarian crisis of enormous proportions,

Reiterating the importance of the Arusha Peace Agreement as the basis for the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Rwanda,

Commending the countries which have provided humanitarian assistance to Rwandese refugees, as well as emergency aid to alleviate the sufferings of the Rwandese people, and those countries which have contributed troops and logistical support to UNAMIR, and ***reiterating*** the urgent need for coordinated international action in this respect,

Welcoming the cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the contributions of the countries of the region, especially that of the facilitator of the Arusha peace process, and ***encouraging*** them to continue their efforts,

Welcoming the visit to Rwanda and to the region by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights,

Noting the appointment, pursuant to resolution S–3/1 of 25 May 1994 adopted by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, of a Special Rapporteur for Rwanda,

Reaffirming its commitment to the unity and territorial integrity of Rwanda,

1. Welcomes the Secretary-General's report of 31 May 1994 (S/1994/640);

2. Endorses the Secretary-General's proposals contained therein for the deployment of the expanded UNAMIR, in particular:

(a) The immediate initiation of the deployment of the two additional battalions in phase 2 in close synchronization with phase 1;

(b) The continuation of urgent preparations for the deployment of the two battalions envisaged for phase 3; and

(c) Flexible implementation of all three phases to ensure effective use of available resources to accomplish the tasks listed in paragraphs 4 (a) and (b) below;

3. Decides to extend the mandate of UNAMIR, expiring on 29 July 1994, until 9 December 1994;

4. Reaffirms that UNAMIR, in addition to continuing to act as an intermediary between the parties in an attempt to secure their agreement to a cease-fire, will:

(a) Contribute to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda, including through the establishment and maintenance, where feasible, of secure humanitarian areas; and

(b) Provide security and support for the distribution of relief supplies and humanitarian relief operations;

5. Recognizes that UNAMIR may be required to take action in self-defence against persons or groups who threaten protected sites and populations, United Nations and other humanitarian personnel or the means of delivery and distribution of humanitarian relief;

6. Demands that all parties to the conflict cease hostilities, agree to a cease-fire and immediately take steps to bring an end to systematic killings in areas under their control;

7. Welcomes the assurances of both parties to cooperate with UNAMIR in carrying out its mandate, ***recognizes*** that such cooperation will be essential to the effective implementation of the mandate, and ***demands*** that both parties adhere to those assurances;

8. Demands further that all parties cease forthwith any incitement, especially through the mass media, to violence or ethnic hatred;

9. Urges Member States to respond promptly to the Secretary-General's request for resources, including logistical support capability for rapid deployment of additional UNAMIR forces;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to ensure that UNAMIR extend the close cooperation it has with the Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the United Nations Rwanda Emergency Office also to the Special Rapporteur for Rwanda appointed by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights;

11. Demands that all parties in Rwanda strictly respect the persons and premises of the United Nations and other organizations serving in Rwanda, and refrain

from any acts of intimidation or violence against personnel engaged in humanitarian and peace-keeping work;

12. Emphasizes the necessity that, *inter alia*:

(a) All appropriate steps be taken to ensure the security and safety of the operation and personnel engaged in the operation; and

(b) The security and safety arrangements undertaken extend to all persons engaged in the operation;

13. Commends the efforts of States, United Nations agencies, international organizations and non-governmental organizations which have provided humanitarian and other assistance, ***encourages*** them to continue and increase such assistance, and ***urges*** others to provide such assistance;

14. Welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to establish a special trust fund for Rwanda and ***invites*** the international community to contribute generously to it;

15. Commends the tireless efforts of the UNAMIR Force Commander to prevent more innocent lives from being lost, and to bring about a cease-fire between the parties;

16. Commends also the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to achieve a political settlement in Rwanda within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement, ***invites*** them, in coordination with the OAU and countries in the region, to continue their efforts, and ***demands*** that the parties undertake serious efforts to bring about political reconciliation;

17. Decides to keep the situation in Rwanda and the role played by UNAMIR under constant review and, to that end, ***requests*** the Secretary-General to report to the Council as appropriate, and in any case no later than 9 August 1994 and 9 October 1994, on progress made by UNAMIR in the discharge of its mandate, the safety of populations at risk, the humanitarian situation and progress towards a cease-fire and political reconciliation;

18. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 928 (1994)
20 June 1994

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 812 (1993) of 12 March 1993, 846 (1993) of 22 June 1993 and 891 (1993) of 20 December 1993,

Recalling its resolution 872 (1993) of 5 October 1993 establishing the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), as well as its resolutions 893 (1994) of 6 January 1994, 909 (1994) of 5 April 1994, 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994, 918 (1994) of 17 May 1994 and 925 (1994) of 8 June 1994,

Having examined the Secretary-General's report (S/1994/715) on the United Nations Observer Mission for Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) dated 16 June 1994,

Welcoming the extension, as of 14 May 1994, of UNOMUR's observation and monitoring activities to the entire Uganda/Rwanda border,

Stressing the need for the observance and strict monitoring of the general and complete embargo of all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Rwanda, as described in paragraph 13 of its resolution 918 (1994),

Considering that the issue of arms flows is one of the major areas of concern in the cease-fire talks currently being held between the Rwandese parties under the auspices of UNAMIR,

1. Welcomes the Secretary-General's report (S/1994/715);

2. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMUR for a final period of three months until 21 September 1994 and agrees that during this period the number of military observers should be reduced by phases;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the termination of UNOMUR before the completion of its mandate;

4. Expresses appreciation to the Government of Uganda for the cooperation and support it has extended to UNOMUR;

5. Stresses the importance of continued cooperation between the Ugandan authorities and UNOMUR;

6. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 929
22 June 1994

Adopted by a vote of 10 in favour, 0 against and 5 abstentions (Brazil, China, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan)

Sponsor: France

The Security Council,

Reaffirming all its previous resolutions on the situation in Rwanda, in particular its resolutions 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994, 918 (1994) of 17 May 1994 and 925 (1994) of 8 June 1994, which set out the mandate and force level of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR),

Determined to contribute to the resumption of the process of political settlement under the Arusha Peace Agreement and ***encouraging*** the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for Rwanda to continue and redouble their efforts at the national, regional and international levels to promote these objectives,

Stressing the importance of the cooperation of all parties for the fulfilment of the objectives of the United Nations in Rwanda,

Having considered the letter of the Secretary-General of 19 June 1994 (S/1994/728),

Taking into account the time needed to gather the necessary resources for the effective deployment of UNAMIR, as expanded in resolutions 918 (1994) and 925 (1994),

Noting the offer by Member States to cooperate with the Secretary-General towards the fulfilment of the objectives of the United Nations in Rwanda (S/1994/734), and ***stressing*** the strictly humanitarian character of this operation which shall be conducted in an impartial and neutral fashion, and shall not constitute an interposition force between the parties,

Welcoming the cooperation between the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and neighbouring States to bring peace to Rwanda,

Deeply concerned by the continuation of systematic and widespread killings of the civilian population in Rwanda,

Recognizing that the current situation in Rwanda constitutes a unique case which demands an urgent response by the international community,

Determining that the magnitude of the humanitarian crisis in Rwanda constitutes a threat to peace and security in the region,

1. Welcomes the Secretary-General's letter dated 19 June 1994 (S/1994/728) and ***agrees*** that a multinational operation may be set up for humanitarian purposes in Rwanda until UNAMIR is brought up to the necessary strength;

2. Welcomes also the offer by Member States (S/1994/734) to cooperate with the Secretary-General in order to achieve the objectives of the United Nations in Rwanda through the establishment of a temporary operation under national command and control aimed at contributing, in an impartial way, to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda, on the understanding that the costs of implementing the offer will be borne by the Member States concerned;

3. Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, ***authorizes*** the Member States cooperating with the Secretary-General to conduct the operation referred to in paragraph 2 above using all necessary means to achieve the humanitarian objectives set out in subparagraphs 4 (a) and (b) of resolution 925 (1994);

4. Decides that the mission of Member States cooperating with the Secretary-General will be limited to a

period of two months following the adoption of the present resolution, unless the Secretary-General determines at an earlier date that the expanded UNAMIR is able to carry out its mandate;

5. Commends the offers already made by Member States of troops for the expanded UNAMIR;

6. Calls upon all Member States to respond urgently to the Secretary-General's request for resources, including logistical support, in order to enable expanded UNAMIR to fulfil its mandate effectively as soon as possible and ***requests*** the Secretary-General to identify and coordinate the supply of the essential equipment required by troops committed to the expanded UNAMIR;

7. Welcomes, in this respect, the offers already made by Member States of equipment for troop contributors to UNAMIR and ***calls on*** other Members to offer such support, including the possibility of comprehensive provision of equipment to specific troop contributors, to speed UNAMIR's expanded force deployment;

8. Requests Member States cooperating with the Secretary-General to coordinate closely with UNAMIR and ***also requests*** the Secretary-General to set up appropriate mechanisms to this end;

9. Demands that all parties to the conflict and others concerned immediately bring to an end all killings of civilian populations in areas under their control and allow Member States cooperating with the Secretary-General to implement fully the mission set forth in paragraph 3 above;

10. Requests the States concerned and the Secretary-General, as appropriate, to report to the Council on a regular basis, the first such report to be made no later than fifteen days after the adoption of this resolution, on the implementation of this operation and the progress made towards the fulfilment of the objectives referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3 above;

11. Also requests the Secretary-General to report on the progress made towards completing the deployment of the expanded UNAMIR within the framework of the report due no later than 9 August 1994 under paragraph 17 of resolution 925 (1994), as well as on progress towards the resumption of the process of political settlement under the Arusha Peace Agreement;

12. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 935 (1994)
1 July 1994

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Sponsors: Argentina, Czech Republic, France, New Zealand, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming all its previous resolutions on the situation in Rwanda,

Reaffirming, in particular, resolutions 918 (1994) and 925 (1994), which expanded the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), and ***stressing*** in this connection the need for early deployment of the expanded UNAMIR to enable it to carry out its mandate,

Recalling the statement by the President of the Security Council of 30 April 1994 (S/PRST/1994/21) in which the Security Council, *inter alia,* condemned all breaches of international humanitarian law in Rwanda, particularly those perpetrated against the civilian population, and recalled that persons who instigate or participate in such acts are individually responsible,

Recalling also the requests it addressed to the Secretary-General in the statement by the President of the Security Council of 30 April 1994 and in resolution 918 (1994), concerning the investigation of serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda during the conflict,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 31 May 1994 (S/1994/640), in which he noted that massacres and killings have continued in a systematic manner throughout Rwanda and also noted

that only a proper investigation can establish the facts in order to enable the determination of responsibility,

Welcoming the visit to Rwanda and to the region by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and ***noting*** the appointment, pursuant to resolution S–3/1 of 25 May 1994 adopted by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, of a Special Rapporteur for Rwanda,

Expressing once again its grave concern at the continuing reports indicating that systematic, widespread and flagrant violations of international humanitarian law, including acts of genocide, have been committed in Rwanda,

Recalling that all persons who commit or authorize the commission of serious violations of international humanitarian law are individually responsible for those violations and should be brought to justice,

1. Requests the Secretary-General to establish, as a matter of urgency, an impartial Commission of Experts to examine and analyse information submitted pursuant to the present resolution, together with such further information as the Commission of Experts may obtain through its own investigations or the efforts of other persons or bodies, including the information made available by the Special Rapporteur for Rwanda, with a view to providing the Secretary-General with its conclusions on the evidence of grave violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda, including the evidence of possible acts of genocide;

2. Calls upon States and, as appropriate, international humanitarian organizations to collate substantiated information in their possession or submitted to them relating to grave violations of international humanitarian law, including breaches of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, committed in Rwanda during the conflict, and ***requests*** States, relevant United Nations bodies, and relevant organizations to make this information available within thirty days of the adoption of the present resolution and as appropriate thereafter, and to provide appropriate assistance to the Commission of Experts referred to in paragraph 1;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the establishment of the Commission of Experts, and ***further requests*** the Secretary-General, within four months from the establishment of the Commission of Experts, to report to the Council on the conclusions of the Commission and to take account of these conclusions in any recommendations for further appropriate steps;

4. Also requests the Secretary-General and as appropriate the High Commissioner for Human Rights through the Secretary-General to make the information submitted to the Special Rapporteur for Rwanda available to the Commission of Experts and to facilitate adequate coordination and cooperation between the work of the Commission of Experts and the Special Rapporteur in the performance of their respective tasks;

5. Urges all concerned fully to cooperate with the Commission of Experts in the accomplishment of its mandate, including responding positively to requests from the Commission for assistance and access in pursuing investigations;

6. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT 14 July 1994 (S/PRST/1994/34)

At the 3405th meeting of the Security Council, held on 14 July 1994, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation concerning Rwanda", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council is alarmed by the continuation of fighting in Rwanda, which is causing a massive exodus of the population. This situation may lead very quickly to a further humanitarian disaster and endanger the stability of the region, since the flow of these refugees is seriously affecting the neighbouring countries.

In the light of this grave situation, the Security Council:

– Demands an immediate and unconditional cease-fire and invites the parties to report to the Force Commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) on their actions in this respect;

– Urges the resumption of the political process in the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement and calls upon the countries of the region, the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to contribute actively to it;

– Reaffirms the humanitarian nature of the secure area in the south-west of Rwanda and demands that all concerned fully respect this. It will keep the matter under close review;

– Urges also Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to mobilize all available resources in order urgently to provide humanitarian assistance to the civilian population in distress;

– Calls upon Member States to provide the necessary contributions in order to ensure the deployment of the expanded UNAMIR in the immediate future.

The Security Council is determined to follow very closely the development of the situation in Rwanda and remains actively seized of the matter.

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